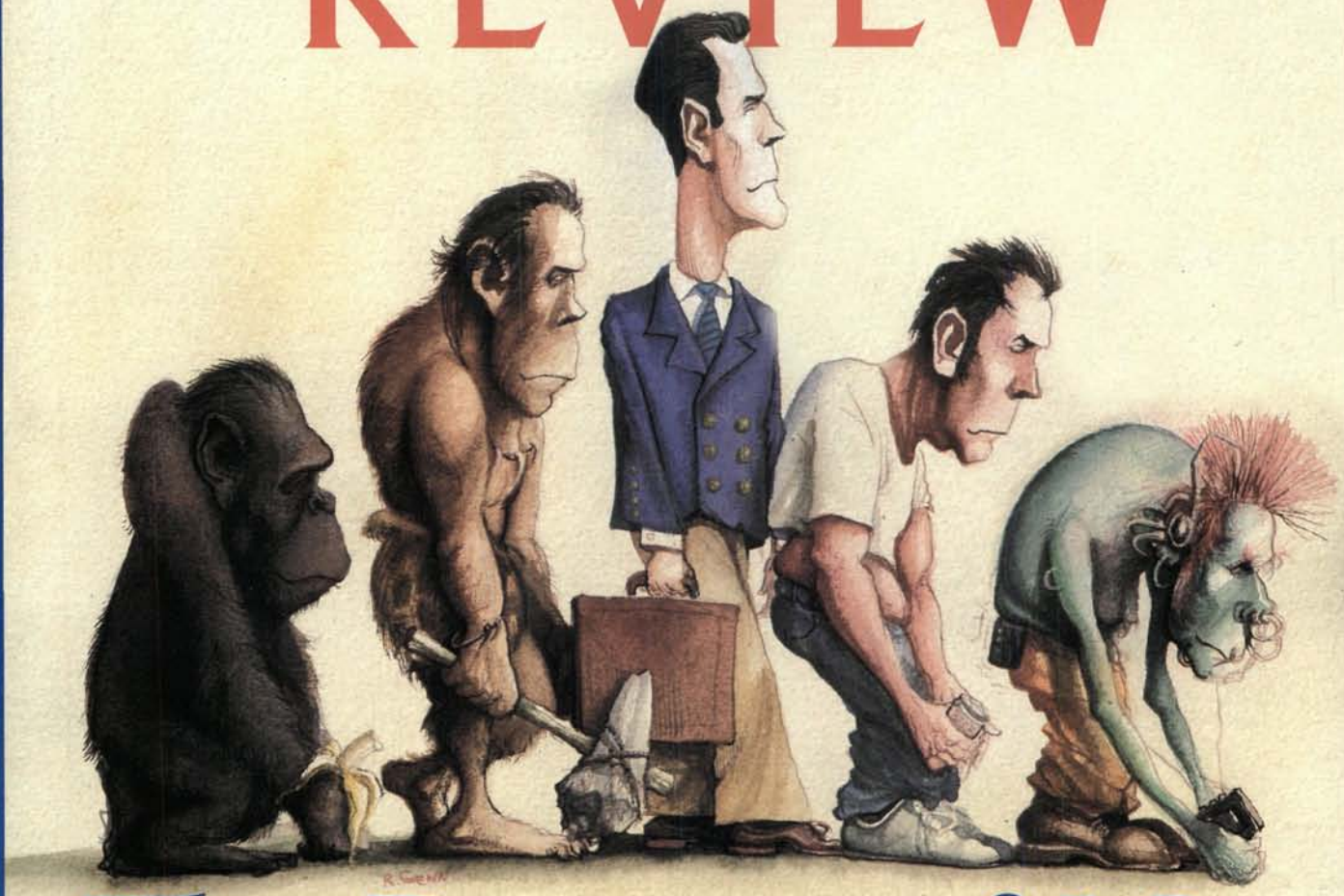
March 9, 1998 49145 $3.50 U.S., $4.50 Canadian

Special
nancial Section

Sodom on the Potomac—Lowry, O'Beirne, The Editors

NATIONAL REVIEW



The Descent of Man

Debating Darwin *Gelernter • Fleming • Behe • McGinnis*

The Asexual Revolution *Kontorovich*

Vile Bodies *Brookhiser • Klinghoffer*

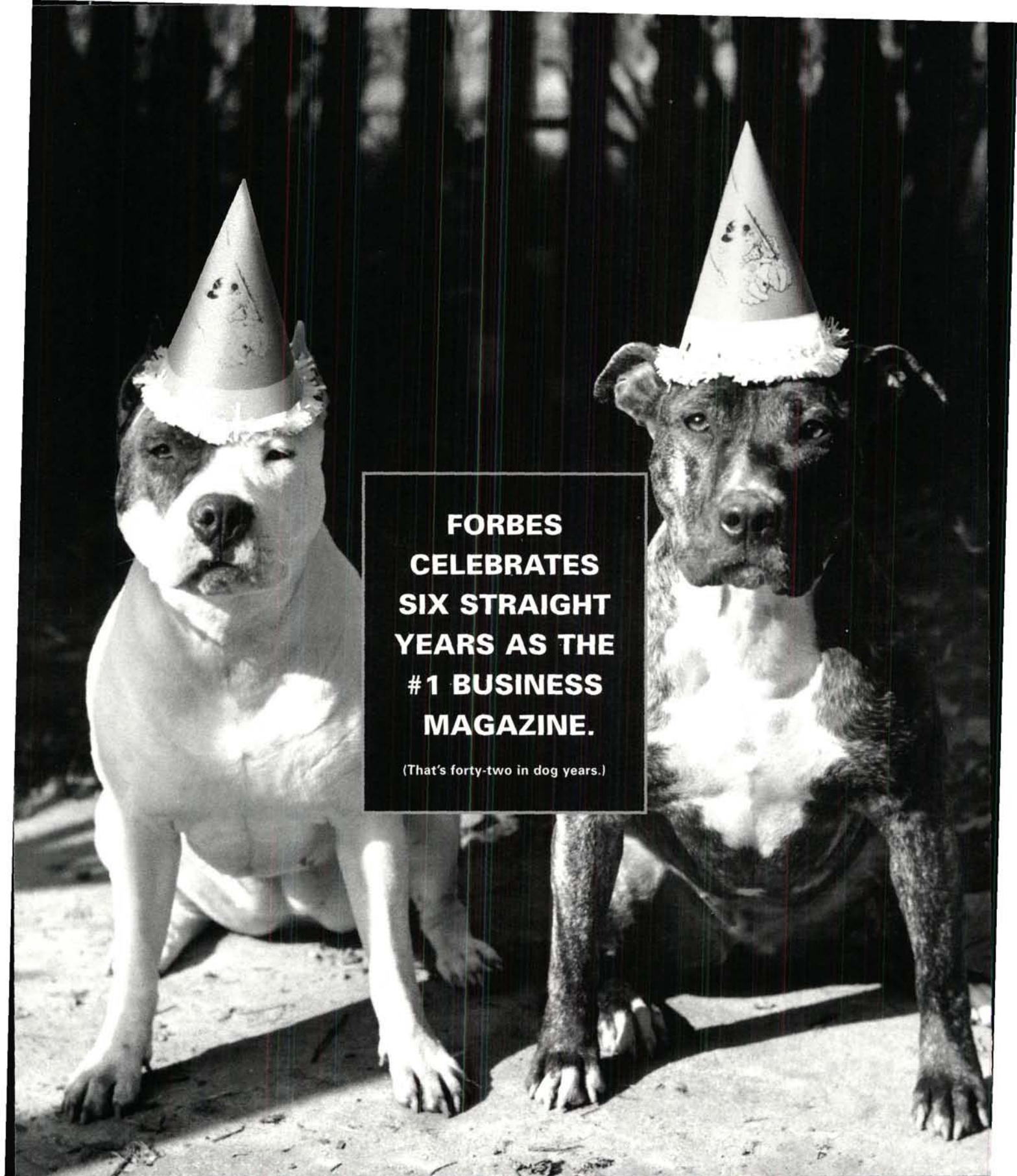
PLUS: *Michael Lind* on Paul Johnson • *Florence Ki*
Peter W. Rodman on Iraqnaphobia • *Matthew Scully*

88 NTRV 504 P00126
RON UNZ
555 BRYANT ST #371
PALO ALTO CA 94301-1704

#BXNCMYG ***** 5-DIGIT 94301
#94301UZ255BY003# 07138

0 931585 3

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



You'd think being #1 would become old hat after a while. Not at Forbes. You see, this is our sixth consecutive year as the top business magazine in ad pages. And #2 among all magazines. These are the kinds of results we never tire of celebrating or expecting at Forbes. Proof that our hard-hitting, no-nonsense editorial approach not only keeps our readers informed. It provides advertisers with an unrivaled opportunity to reach today's business leaders and managers. As for those competitors hoping we'll lighten up a bit in 1998, we offer a final word. Beware.

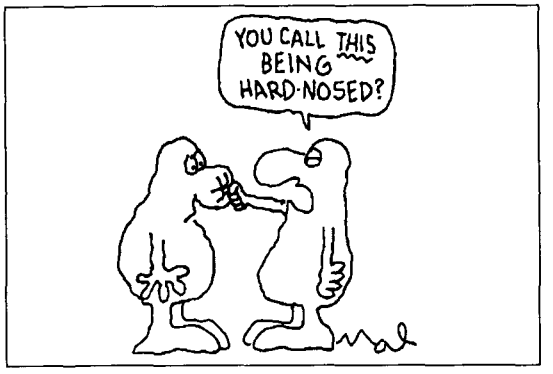
Source: PIB

Forbes
CAPITALIST TOOL
www.forbes.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATIONAL REVIEW

MARCH 9, 1998 VOL. L, NO. 4



COVER STORY

52 ***The Descent of Man***
David Gelernter, Thomas Fleming, and Michael J. Behe question what exactly are the political ramifications of Darwinism. **John O. McGinnis** responds.

SPECIAL FINANCIAL SECTION

Wall Street Is Main Street
Richard Nadler says that new investors are a GOP growth opportunity (p. 36). . . . **Ramesh Ponnuru** finds a tax cut that will work (p. 40). . . . **Alan Reynolds** isn't buying the Clinton economy (p. 44). . . . **Lawrence Kudlow** gives credit to Alan Greenspan (p. 46).

ARTICLES

25 ***Capital Scene***
With President Clinton, reports **Richard Lowry**, there's nothing like being in denial. . . . **Stephen Moore** hears budget caps popping. . . . **Matthew Scully** cheers as Republicans land Reagan an airport. . . . **Kate O'Beirne** rates the President's hot numbers.

30 ***Asexual Revolution***
E. V. Kontorovich offers a multiplicity of arguments against cloning.

32 ***Show Business***
Liberals, says **Peter W. Rodman**, are still more comfortable showing force than using it decisively.

34 ***Terminally Inept?***
John J. Miller wonders if time is up for the term-limits movement.

48 ***Dirty Joke***
The hot show *South Park* specializes in vulgarity and irony. **David Klinghoffer** is not amused.

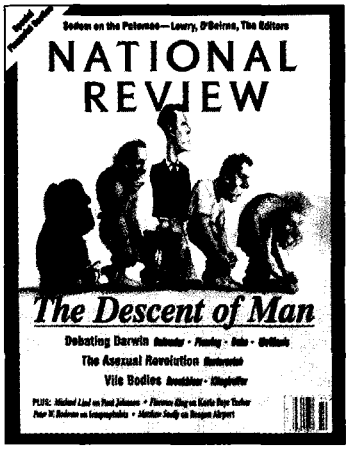
World Wide Web http://www.nationalreview.com

BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

59 Who are our country's real Founders—George Washington & Co., or Walter Raleigh & Co.? Is there such a thing as an American "nation," as opposed to a mere American "state"? Paul Johnson's opinion on these questions is hinted at by the fact that he starts his great *History of the American People* not in 1776, when the government was founded, but long before, when the American people was born. **Michael Lind** applauds a majestic work of historical literature. . . . According to **Matthew Scully**, George F. Will's *The Woven Fabric* proves that, at the right time, Will is the Right man. . . . **Jonathan Foreman** rides hard on Martin Amis's *Night Train*. . . . In *Stealing Jesus* Bruce Brawer crucifies Protestants. **Fr. George W. Rutler** raises them up. . . . After having his heart broken by a fresh-faced waitress with a nose ring, **Richard Brookhiser** skewers body-piercing. . . . **John Simon** declares *The Boxer* a knock-out.

SECTIONS

2 ***Letters***
6 ***From the Editor***
8 ***For the Record***
13 ***The Week***
56 hel
58 ***Letter from Al***
70 ***On the Right***
72 ***The Misanthrope's Corner***



Cover illustration by Roman Genn

NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January, by National Review, Inc., at 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Periodicals postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices. ©National Review, Inc., 1998. Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editor, etc. to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc. to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668; phone, 815-734-1232, Monday–Friday, 7:30 A.M. to 10:30 P.M. Eastern time. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile. Direct classified advertising inquiries to: Classifieds Dept., National Review, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016 or call 212-679-7330. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668. Printed in the U.S.A.

RATES: $57.00 a year (25 issues). Add $21.50 for Canada and other foreign subscriptions, per year. (All payments in U.S. currency.) The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage or, better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS

For God and Country

I wept in my office as I read Lionel Chetwynd's "Semper Fi" [Feb. 23]. As a 41-year-old baby-boomer who spent six peaceful years on active duty, I served with many who served our country in Vietnam and escaped the hell Mr. Chetwynd describes. As the son of a career artillery officer who served in Korea, the Dominican Republic, and Vietnam, I learned the ethical code of God, honor, and country early on. I was in Army ROTC when the POWs came home. My father and I were ashamed that our country had become so hedonistic it treated these people not as heroes, but as criminals. My father passed away ten years ago. He was a long-time reader of *NR* and would have loved this article. I know it will be a blessing for all who love this country and the God Who has blessed us and still holds us accountable.

Stuart L. Brogden
Corinth, Tex.

Disservice to the Service

I thoroughly enjoyed the special section "Neither Rough Nor Ready: The New U.S. Military" [Feb. 9]. As a former active-duty officer who resigned after 14 years, I found it refreshing to see these issues discussed in a national forum. Unfortunately, within the military at levels above the rank of lieutenant colonel, these things are spoken of in hushed tones, if at all. The general attitude appears to be one of abdication until a more conservative Administration saves the Armed Forces. Lower-ranking officers are expressing their disgust by resigning.

Jeffrey D. Vold
Dana Point, Calif.

In all the talk about women in combat, a simple fact is ignored: combat is so dreadful that only macho males can do the grisly work. They can do it only through the pride that comes from male bonding, fostering the notion that they are tough, brave, and strong. The fact that many of them are not is irrelevant to the mystique that lets them walk into the fires of hell. Shatter that mystique, and they are no longer an effective fighting force.

This is exactly the point Florence King made in her review of Kelly Flinn's *Proud to Be: My Life, the Air Force, the Controversy* [Feb. 9]. Miss Flinn writes, "The fear isn't just of women distracting men . . . It's of women feminizing men *altogether*." Miss King responds: "That's an argument against women in the military if I've ever read one . . ."

William F. Miller
Corpus Christi, Tex.

Bugged Out

I certainly agree with Eric Peters ["The Lost Bug," Feb. 9] that federal meddling in automotive design has wasted millions of car buyers' dollars. But the New Beetle —the official name—isn't intended as a resurrection of the old Beetle. It does capture the profile of the original, but almost as a cartoon: Roger Rabbit, your car is ready. It is not intended to be the most spartan car on the road and does not need to be. Its base price of roughly $15,200 is in the ballpark for, one would say, comparable models, except that there aren't any. Volkswagen has created a class of one. It's cuter than dimples, and better yet, it's a real car, far better than the first Bug in just about every way. Volkswagen will sell every one it can make. So while one could make a case concerning government folly in automotive regulation in a number of ways, using the New Beetle isn't one of them.

John L. Matras
Tannersville, Pa.

Catholic Charmer

Matthew Carolan's review of Fr. Samway's biography of Walker Percy ["Walker Percy, Big Deal," Feb. 9] would give a reader unfamiliar with Percy's novels no idea of either their charm or their power. Those traits may sound contradictory, yet that is the art of *The Moviegoer* (and Percy's other novels), which is essentially the brilliant creation of a man's voice—a young bemused New Orleans stockbroker who is not a very good Catholic, loves movies, and knows something is wrong with his life and the world—telling a universal story, funny and moving.

Lawrence Dugan
Philadelphia, Pa.

Religions for All

Andrew Oliver incorrectly equates the passing of mandatory daily chapel with a "general collapse" of religion at boarding schools ["God and Man at St. Grottlesex . . . ," Dec. 31]. This week Lawrenceville students will be able to worship at Protestant Chapel or Catholic Mass on Sunday, Episcopal Eucharist on Thursday morning, Buddhist meditation and Muslim prayers daily, and Jewish Shabbat services on Friday evening. Christian Bible study is offered three weekday mornings. All that disappeared is a policy of mandating a single worship for all students without regard to their own backgrounds. In order to be a leadership school we must look like the face of America, representing a robust pluralism and respecting the variety of religious experience in our student body.

Michael S. Cary
Head Master, The Lawrenceville School
Lawrenceville, N.J.

Cast No Stones

I have not read a more eloquently damning portrayal of the defining act of modern antinomianism than Norman Podhoretz's "Heroism in a Politically Correct Age" [Jan. 26]. By placing it alongside the Black Mass and its ritualization of all that is depraved, he has captured the essence of the homosexual act as one of "signifying death," particularly within the context of its modern curse, AIDS.

Alas, I must take exception with Mr. Podhoretz's use of the Rolling Stones to anthropomorphize the decadence of the Sixties. He has unnecessarily vilified the band while misinterpreting the Stones anthem, "Sympathy for the Devil." The lyrics could be summarized with the aphorism, "Give the Devil his due." The song is a recounting of historical wickedness and the pervasive effect evil has had in shaping the world. It was never meant as a sop to Lucifer.

Michael K. Bell
Clarksville, Tenn.

Your cheap shot at the world's greatest rock 'n' roll band ["The Week," Feb. 9] was a misfire. The Rolling Stones have taken full advantage of the open marketplace and steadfastly favor the toleration of illicit drugs. Mick, Keith, and their confrères should be the perfect poster boys for NATIONAL REVIEW.

Brett M. Decker
Washington, D.C.

Private Smut?

The next time you look under a rock for a TV critic, pick someone who can at least think logically. If, as Rob Long puts it ["Jerry Built," Feb. 9], *Seinfeld*'s saturation with smut, promiscuity, homophilia, etc., is merely expressing that "our moral and spiritual life is our own affair," why does it go on television to flaunt its filth before millions of people?

Patrick Andretta
Mineola, N.Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FIXING HEALTH CARE ISN'T EXACTLY BRAIN SURGERY. (IF ONLY IT WERE THAT EASY.)

About the only aspect of the health care debate any two people might agree on is that the system needs work. We'd like to weigh in with a few ideas of our own since we're actually in the position to do something about it. ▪ First off, the paramount focus of health care must be quality. Which is why we're working to enable a level of health care never available under the old fee-for-service system. ▪ We can't do it alone. So we're joining with academic medicine to make the system better. We've pioneered and allocated $15 million to fund the Academic Medicine and Managed Care Forum. An ongoing gathering of our experts, and those from more than 30 leading universities and teaching hospitals. Including Johns Hopkins, Yale, Emory, Baylor, University of Pennsylvania and Stanford. Together, we're seeking new ways to help get patients the health care they need. ▪ Already, we send timely reminders that encourage members to see their doctors for immunizations to prevent illness and screenings that diagnose disease early enough to do something about it. One result has been a significant reduction in late-stage breast cancer. ▪ To better manage chronic diseases, we've created outreach efforts that have reduced asthma emergencies 60%, promoted eyesight-saving laser therapy for diabetics, and improved the quality of life for people with congestive heart failure. ▪ There's more work to be done. And we'll do more than our share of it. Because no matter how complex, it has never been our policy to turn our back on a problem. Whether it's that of a patient, or of an entire health care system.

Aetna US Healthcare™

You'll feel better with us.®

©1998 Aetna U. S. Healthcare Inc. www.aetnaushc.com

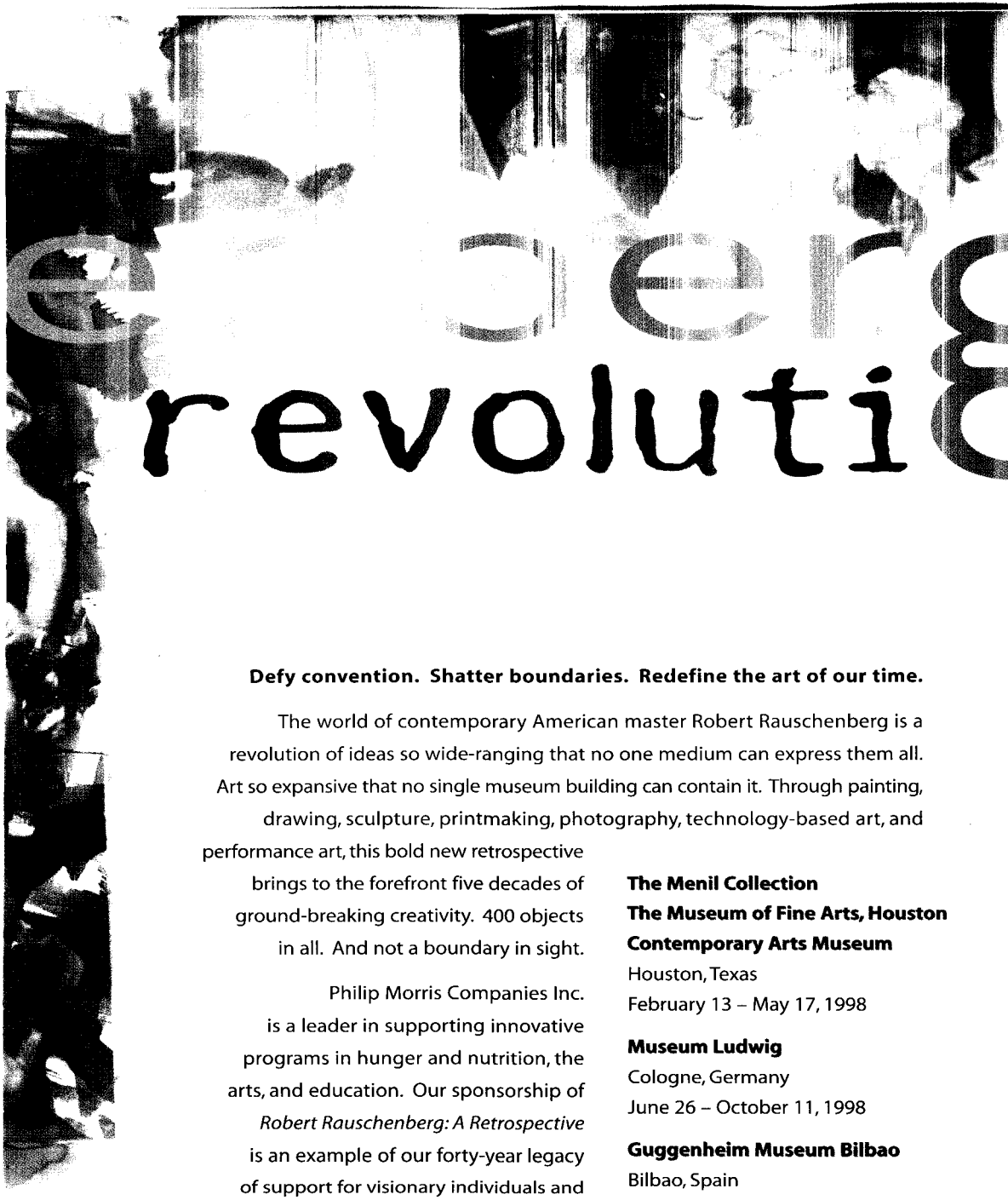
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Above: *Chain Reaction (Anagram)*, 1996, vegetable-dye transfer on paper, courtesy of Pace Wildenstein

Left: Robert Rauschenberg, Alex Hay, and Carolyn Brown performing *Pelican*, New York Theater Rally, May 24–26, 1965

© 1998 Philip Morris Management Corp.

LICENSED TO ARTNET.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Rauschenberg revolution

Defy convention. Shatter boundaries. Redefine the art of our time.

The world of contemporary American master Robert Rauschenberg is a revolution of ideas so wide-ranging that no one medium can express them all. Art so expansive that no single museum building can contain it. Through painting, drawing, sculpture, printmaking, photography, technology-based art, and performance art, this bold new retrospective brings to the forefront five decades of ground-breaking creativity. 400 objects in all. And not a boundary in sight.

Philip Morris Companies Inc. is a leader in supporting innovative programs in hunger and nutrition, the arts, and education. Our sponsorship of *Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective* is an example of our forty-year legacy of support for visionary individuals and pioneering organizations who enhance the quality of our world.

The Menil Collection
The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston
Contemporary Arts Museum
Houston, Texas
February 13 – May 17, 1998

Museum Ludwig
Cologne, Germany
June 26 – October 11, 1998

Guggenheim Museum Bilbao
Bilbao, Spain
November 20, 1998 – February 26, 1999

Additional international tour sites will follow.

40 **Years of Arts Support**

PHILIP MORRIS COMPANIES INC.

KRAFT FOODS, INC. KRAFT FOODS INTERNATIONAL, INC. MILLER BREWING COMPANY

PHILIP MORRIS CAPITAL CORPORATION PHILIP MORRIS INTERNATIONAL INC. PHILIP MORRIS U.S.A.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATIONAL REVIEW

March 9 issue; printed February 18

Editor
Richard Lowry

Senior Editors
Peter Brimelow / Richard Brookhiser
Priscilla L. Buckley / Jeffrey Hart
Peter W. Rodman

Managing Editor: Linda Bridges
Washington Editor: Kate O'Beirne
Articles Editor: Andrew Oliver
Executive Editor: Matthew Carolan
Literary Editor: David Klinghoffer
National Reporter: Ramesh Ponnuru
Economics Analyst: Ed Rubenstein
Roving Correspondent: Radek Sikorski
Art Director: Luba Kolomytseva
Associate Editor: Karina Rollins
Executive Secretary: Frances Bronson
Assistant to Mr. Buckley: Tony Savage

Editorial Associates
Patricia B. Bozell / Kate Dwyer / Kathryn Jean Lopez
Tracy Lee Simmons / Jane Buckley Smith
Christopher R. Weinkopf

Research Director: Dorothy McCartney
Librarian: John J. Virtes
Research Assistant: Russell Jenkins
Compositor: Michael Ashton

Contributing Editors
Elliott Abrams / Wick Allison / Hadley Arkes
Tom Bethell / Eliot A. Cohen / Brian Crozier
John Dizard / W. H. von Dreele
Andrew Ferguson / Neal B. Freeman
David Gelernter / John Gray / John Hillen
Florence King / Lawrence Kudlow
Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn / Anthony Lejeune
Mark R. Levin / Rob Long
Allan H. Meltzer / Stephen Moore
Richard John Neuhaus / Paul Craig Roberts
Peter Samuel / John Simon
Ralph de Toledano / Ernest van den Haag
Vin Weber / Timothy J. Wheeler

President
Thomas L. Rhodes

Editors-at-Large
Wm. F. Buckley Jr. / John O'Sullivan

Contributors
Digby Anderson / Aram Bakshian Jr.
Baloo / James Bowman / David Brudnoy
Richard C. Carpenter / Donald Coxe
John R. Coyne Jr. / Dinesh D'Souza
M. Stanton Evans / Chester E. Finn Jr.
Doug Gamble / James Gardner / George Gilder
Victor Gold / Charles R. Kesler
James Jackson Kilpatrick / Jan Lukas
D. Keith Mano / Charles Burton Marshall
Forrest McDonald / Brad Miner / Thomas Molnar
Joe Mysak / Michael Novak
Grover Joseph Rees / Alan Reynolds
Selden Rodman / William A. Rusher / J. O. Tate
Terry Teachout / Taki Theodoracopulos
S. L. Varnado / Richard Vigilante
Chilton Williamson Jr.

Associate Publisher: Jack Fowler
Assistant to the Publisher: Kevin Longstreet
Assistant to the President: Barbara Nowack
Chief Financial Officer: James X. Kilbridge
Accounting Manager: Galina Veygman
Treasurer: Rose Flynn DeMaio

Business Services
Alex Batey / Julie Crane
Vickie Manca / Kristie Hong Woo

Circulation 212-679-7330
Circulation Director: Theresa Maloney
Circulation Manager: Jason Ng
World Wide Web http://www.nationalreview.com
Main Number 212-679-7330
Subscription Inquiries 815-734-1232
Washington Office 202-543-9226
Advertising Sales 212-679-7330
Advertising Director: Scott F. Budd
Advertising Managers: Todd Westover, Tim Koorbusch
Account Representative: Kerin Coyle
Detroit Rep.: Joseph J. Colucci 248-626-9918

Publisher
Edward A. Capano

FROM THE EDITOR

Double Trouble

IN HIS study of the literature of World War I, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, Paul Fussell writes how prior to the war, "One could use with security words which a few years later . . . would constitute obvious *double entendres*. One could say *intercourse*, or *erection*, or *ejaculation*, without any risk of evoking a smile or a leer."

It was a world "where the values appeared stable and where the meanings of abstractions seemed permanent and stable." It was a world of innocence, where everyone knew what honor and glory meant, where as yet there was "no *Ulysses*, no *Mauberley*, no *Cantos*, no Kafka, no Proust, no Waugh, no Auden, no Huxley, no Cummings, no *Women In Love* or *Lady Chatterly's Lover*."

And, one might add, no President Clinton. One of the President's great legacies—besides school uniforms, the V-chip, and the expansion of the Earned Income Tax Credit—will be his Bully-Pulpit contribution to the debasement of language, the triumph of irony, and the invasion of sex into absolutely everything. (And Reagan only won the Cold War.)

Clinton has taken all those words that so long ago could be said innocently and made them common practice in the West Wing. So it is that he has helped give force to a whole new order of *double entendres*, words charged with sexual meaning that can't but elicit smiles and leers: *Blow. Oral. Relations. Dress. Oval Office. Stains. Intern. The President of the United States.*

Freud would be proud. Clinton speechwriters had to work overtime to scrub the State of the Union of all the words that might carry a sexual charge. Pledges to bring Iraq to its knees were strictly off limits. Some other inadvertently amusing lines nonetheless slipped through. My favorite: the President's call to strengthen the Biological Weapons Convention with a system "to detect and deter cheating."

All this makes for great late-night material, but it also matters. As Fussell suggests, the fact that a young man once could write his girl a telegram, "THINKING OF YOU HARD," with no lewd intent was somehow connected to the way young men could step over the parapet into withering rifle fire. Words, and therefore the world, had a definite meaning; things were as they seemed and some of them were worth dying for.

The faith of those men, of course, was often misplaced—hence the shattering effect of World War I. The cynicism about leadership that the war engendered was the inspiration for Anthony Burgess's *The Wanting Seed*, a novel about a staged war. Today's tale of a fake war, *Wag the Dog*, is inspired by none other than the Commander-in-Chief.

Once politicians had the decency at least to tell us straightforward lies. *I'm not a crook.* Today, Clinton subsists on denials that are meant to be something other than what they seem, that hide meaning behind dizzying obfuscations, e.g., he was never "in a hotel" alone with Paula Jones.

On the one hand, this is a deception laughably juvenile, on the order of one kid telling another that No, he doesn't have a quarter—because he really has a dollar bill in his pocket. On the other hand, repeated again and again in ways large and small, it is profoundly subversive.

Bill Clinton could do nothing more beneficial to our culture than utter one sentence: "Yes, I, William Jefferson Clinton, had sex with that woman, Monica Lewinsky." Words, simple, definite, impossible to misunderstand.

It's a catharsis that will never happen, of course. One day soon, *Wag the Dog* may seem innocent in its assumptions about American politics. And *double entendres* will continue their ever-widening sway, with their dismaying suggestion that whatever we say, we're really thinking of something else.

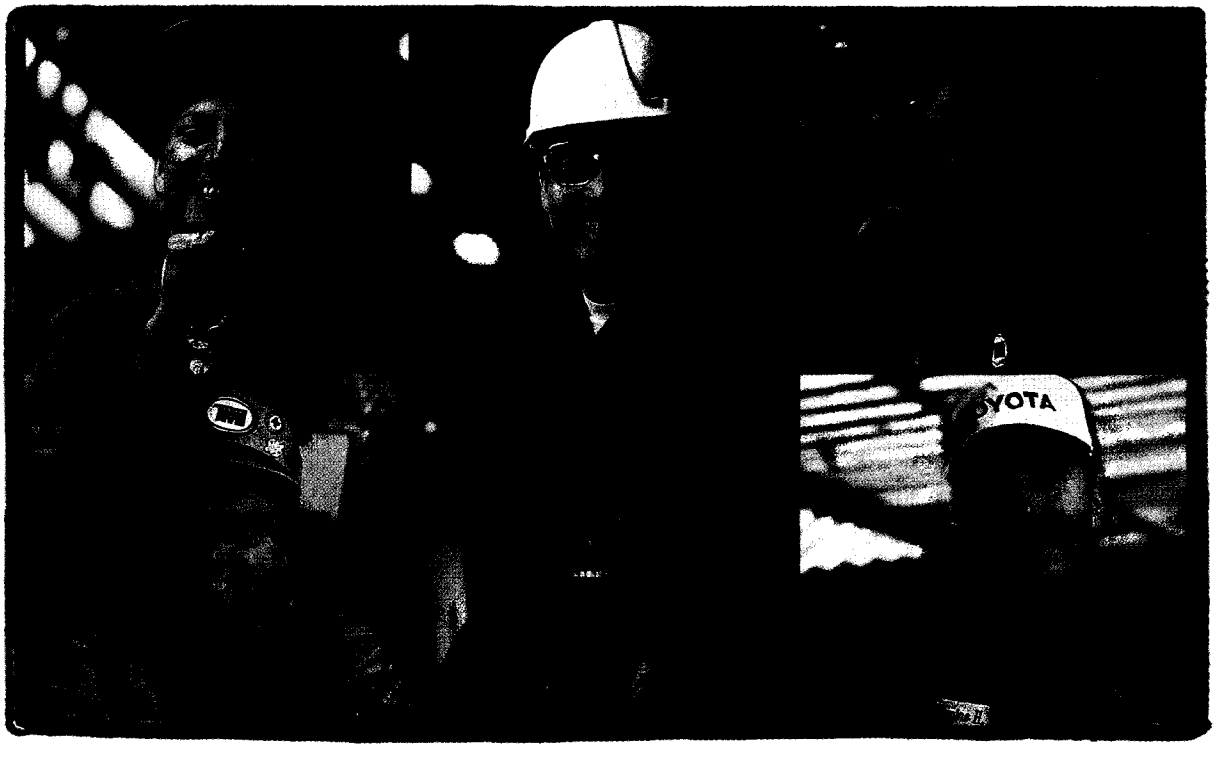
Oh, well. Life goes on. Here, that means finishing another issue of the magazine, or as they say in the business, putting it to bed. —RICHARD LOWRY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SOME OF THE FEATURES

that go into every

AMERICAN-BUILT TOYOTA



Here in the U.S., Toyota directly employs more than 20,000 people. In fact, more than half the Toyota vehicles sold in America are built by Americans in Kentucky, California - and soon in Indiana as well - with many parts and materials coming from U.S. suppliers. To people across America, and around the world, Toyota is more than just a source of local transport, it's a source of local pride.

TOYOTA People Drive Us

Visit our website at www.toyota.com/usa or write Toyota Motor Corporate Services, 9 W. 57th St., 4900-F4, New York, NY 10019 ©1997

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FOR THE RECORD

■ Quirky liberal columnist **Richard Cohen**: "Patriotism may be the last refuge of a scoundrel, but yelling about leaks is a close second. . . . Those of us who went through Watergate and Agnewgate are having distinct feelings of déja vu." . . . *The Economist*'s cover line: "If it's true, go" . . . . In *The Hill*, **Dick Morris** argues that scandal puts **Hillary Rodham Clinton** in charge of White House—which raises risk: **Bill Clinton** "can't make it if the 30 per cent who think he is immoral are joined by another 30 per cent who feel he is weak. . . . It was the conversion of this second group of Clinton-doubters [that made] all the difference in the president's ratings." . . . *Fox News*/Opinion Dynamics poll finds 52 per cent believe White House accusations of leaks by **Kenneth Starr** are designed to sow confusion; 45 per cent would not feel safe leaving a daughter in late teens or early twenties alone with Clinton; 49 per cent believe Mrs. Clinton stays not for love but for power. . . . Sen. **Mitch McConnell** (R., Ky.) decries White House "smear campaign" against Starr. . . . **Leon Panetta**, former chief of staff to Clinton, says Starr "does have a good reputation in Washington, and I think that he's got to be given an opportunity to investigate the situation, find the facts. . . . Give him the room to do it." . . . White House press secretary **Mike McCurry**: "I believe exactly what he has said. . . . And truth to the contrary would be very troublesome to me, to the press, and the American people." Of high approval ratings, he says, "No wise person should read these poll numbers as a glowing endorsement of Bill Clinton."

■ *U.S. News and World Report* asks Rep. **John Porter** (R., Ill.) "if Clinton's call for a $1.1 billion increase for the National Institutes of Health next year was too much." His response: "How about not enough?" Porter chairs relevant appropriations subcommittee. . . . National Right to Work leader **Reed Larson** complains that **Newt Gingrich** (R., Ga.) and **Dick Armey** (R., Tex.) are "stonewall[ing]" rather than keeping pledge to hold roll-call votes on bill against compulsory union dues. . . . *National Journal*'s **Paul Starobin** reports on shift of voters in America's 100 richest communities to Democrats: "In 1996, Clinton ran best in the nation's richest—and poorest—congressional districts." . . . Maine votes 52-48 per cent to repeal gay rights law passed by state legislature last spring. Result is shot in arm for wobbling Christian Coalition. . . . Asked for position on homosexual issues at social conservative Council for National Policy meeting, **Steve Forbes** says, "Equal rights for all. Special rights for no one." . . . Rep. **John Kasich** (R., Ohio) on Clinton's budget: "It looks like the President wants to eliminate state and local government and run everything out of Washington." **Dick Gephardt** (D., Mo.): "Republicans are asking Americans to make a false choice between big government and less government. Democrats believe the choice is between smart government and idle government."

■ **Dan Walters** of *Sacramento Bee* explains why "Democratic party leaders" favor California gubernatorial candidacy of former airline exec **Al Checchi**: "They're saying, 'Hey, if we're going to lose anyway, we might as well lose with a guy who puts up his own money.' " After Sen. **Dianne Feinstein** (D.) declines race, Rep. **Jane Harman** (D.) jumps in: "I wasn't my first choice for this race—she was." Atty. Gen. **Dan Lungren** almost certain GOP nominee. . . . AFL-CIO leaders announce a special assessment on members to provide $15 million more for political candidates and causes. . . . Conservative state assemblyman **E. Scott Garrett** challenges liberal Rep. **Marge Roukema** (R., N.J.) in June primary. . . . Rep. **Henry Hyde** (R., Ill.) endorses conservative state Sen. **Peter Fitzgerald** over establishment-backed Comptroller **Loleta Didrickson** in race for GOP nomination to Senate. Fitzgerald then votes for tax increase.

"Before I tell you what you did wrong, why don't you tell me what you think *you did wrong."*

■ Competitive Enterprise Institute releases "Ten Thousand Commandments: A Policymaker's Snapshot of the Federal Regulatory State." Author **Clyde Wayne Crews Jr.** estimates that regulations cost the typical family at least $6,875 in 1997. . . . **Mayor Bret Schundler** starts Jersey City Religious Freedom Defense Fund to fight ACLU. Address is P.O. Box 7179, Jersey City, NJ 07307. . . . A new addition of Rear Admiral **Jeremiah Denton**'s classic account of being a POW in Vietnam, *When Hell Was in Session*, will be out in April. Orders can be placed directly with Morley Books at 202-861-7790. . . . In Ohio, parents sue high school baseball team's coaches for giving son too much bench time. . . . From the *Arizona Republic* (2/6): "A Gila River tribal police officer checked a convicted child molester out of jail last week, then took the man to an elementary school to play McGruff, the crime dog, for a group of children. At least one of his victims was in attendance. So was a boy the man had been ordered to stay away from."

■ Veteran Chinese Communist propagandist **Yu Quanyu** calls on party officials to learn Western P.R. skills, cites speeches by Mrs. Clinton as short, of little substance, and no reasoning, but "aimed at merely winning applause and votes." . . . **Kim Dong Su**, North Korean diplomat at UN Food and Agricultural Organization in Rome, defects, saying children are starving and the country cannot go on. . . . **Pele**, now Brazil's sports minister, under fire with corruption charges. . . . Shocked by a series of highly publicized teenage crimes, Japan may move to ban sale of knives to adolescents. . . . Learning Welsh appears to be latest fad in Tokyo.

■ In new book *Made Possible By. . .*, **James Ledbetter** uncovers right-wing conspiracy: "no single publication has had as large an impact on the management and content of American public television as the NATIONAL REVIEW." Now you know.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

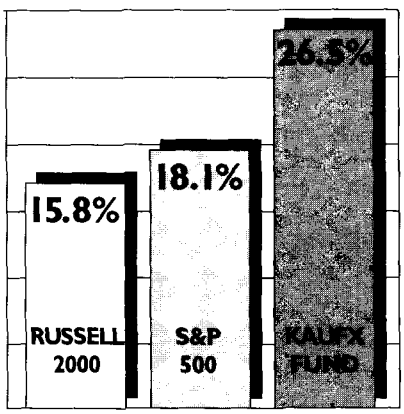
The Kaufmann Fund®

A Small Company Aggressive Growth Fund

#1 General Equity Fund for the Ten Years Ending 12/31/97

*— per Lipper Analytical Services**

Ten-Year Compounded Annual Return



Kaufmann Five -Year Return.. 19.1%
Kaufmann One -Year Return..12.6%

Periods ending 12/31/97
per Lipper Analytical Services

"Tough Guys Finish FIRST"

— Mutual Funds Magazine, April '95

Lawrence Auriana and Hans Utsch, Portfolio Co-managers with over 65 years of combined Wall Street experience

"One of the Best Funds for Retirement"

— Fortune's Retirement Guide
— Money Magazine's Retire with Money

For a prospectus call: **(800) 666-9233**

24 hours per day, 7 days a week

IRA

*Out of 501 equity funds for the period of 12/31/87 - 12/31/97.

Total returns for periods ending December 31, 1997 are historical and include change in share price, reinvestment of dividends and capital gains. There is a 0.2% redemption fee and a 12b-1 fee in excess of 0.25%. The S&P is an unmanaged index consisting of the common stock of 500 publicly traded U.S. companies. The Russell 2000 Index consists of 2,000 small and mid-cap companies. For more complete information including charges, expenses, and risks on small-cap stocks please read the prospectus carefully before you invest. The performance cited represents past performance which is not indicative of future results; investment performance fluctuates; fund shares when redeemed may be worth more or less than original cost. The prices of small company stocks are generally more volatile than those of large companies.

The Kaufmann Fund, Inc.

140 East 45th Street, New York, NY 10017 • Fax (212) 661-2266
Internet - http://www.kaufmann.com Prodigy - Jump Kaufmann AOL - Keyword: Kaufmann

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Designed in Paris. Printed in Italy.
Bound in America.
GLORIOUS ART
The most beautiful collection of art books ever published.

All books shown smaller than actual size of 9¾" x 12"

Now you can indulge both your passion for art and your love of fine books! Great art practically leaps off the pages of these beautiful leather-bound volumes. da Vinci. Cezanne. Gauguin. Van Gogh. Picasso. Magnificent paintings that hang in the Prado, the Hermitage, the Louvre.

Designed in Paris, printed in Italy and bound in America, the books themselves are works of art. At 9¾" x 12" each, these are among the largest leather-bound volumes ever produced by Easton Press. The quality of the full-color reproductions is superb. The writing communicates an enthusiasm, a passion, a love for art.

Treat yourself and your family to the whole world of art.

Glorious Art is the most complete series of art books ever conceived. Forty volumes encompass art from the ancient Egyptians, Greeks and Romans to the Middle Ages, the Renaissance and the present day. Painting, sculp-

Genuine leather bindings, accented with 22kt gold.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

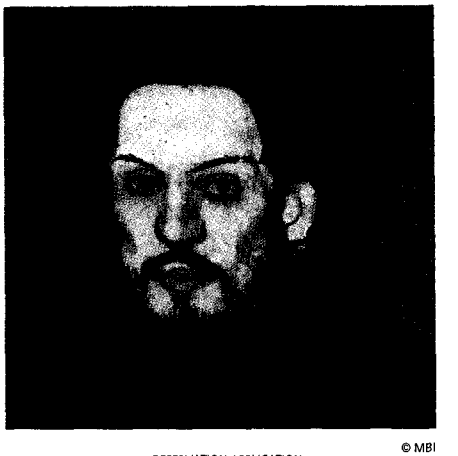
Stunning photography...superior reproduction... magnificent color plates...expertly written.

The Virgin, The Infant Jesus and Saint Anne
(detail)
Leonardo da Vinci

Sunflowers
Vincent Van Gogh

Miniature Sarcophagus
Tomb of Tutankhamen

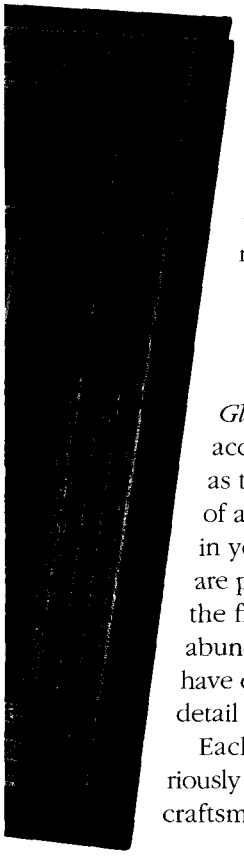
Adam
Auguste Rodin



Self Portrait
(detail)
Pablo Picasso

ture, architecture, landscape, industrial and commercial design.

You'll learn about styles. Details. Composition. Influences. Historical allusions. Why Venice became the art center of Europe. Why the Italian Renaissance flowered in Florence.



What Kandinsky had in mind when he created abstract art. Why Picasso, already successful, felt the need to continually re-invent himself.

Own the very best art series.

Glorious Art has been acclaimed in Europe as the best new series of art books to appear in years. All the books are printed in Italy using the finest paper. The abundant photographs have extraordinary depth, detail and delicacy.

Each volume is luxuriously bound by American craftsmen in genuine leather. The spine of each book is accented with precious 22kt gold and each is bound with lustrous moiré endsheets and a permanent satin ribbon page marker. Page ends are gilded for a beautiful finish that protects the art inside by helping to seal out dust and moisture. The pages are sewn rather than simply glued together for added strength and durability. These books are designed to last for generations.

Convenient to acquire.

The price of each volume is surprisingly affordable—just $64.95, plus shipping and handling. We will ship you one book every four weeks.

Enrich your soul and your surroundings with *Glorious Art*. Your satisfaction is guaranteed. Return any book within 30 days for prompt replacement or full refund. Either party may cancel at any time.

The finest leather-bound art collection in the world can be yours! Mail the Reservation Application today.

The Easton Press
47 Richards Avenue • Norwalk, CT 06857

© MBI

RESERVATION APPLICATION

Easton Press
47 Richards Avenue
Norwalk, CT 06857

Call: 1-800-367-4534
Ext. 502-051
M-F, 8am-6pm E.T.

Glorious Art

Yes, please send me the first leather-bound volume, *Leonardo*, and enroll my subscription to *Glorious Art* under the terms described in this ad.

☐ For my convenience, please charge my credit card $64.95 plus shipping and handling for each volume I decide to keep.

☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover ☐ Am. Ex.

Credit Card No. _____ Exp. Date _____

☐ I prefer to pay for my first volume by check. Enclosed is $69.20 ($64.95 plus $4.25 shipping and handling) payable to Easton Press.

Signature _____
(All orders subject to acceptance.)

Name _____
(Please print.)

Address _____

City _____

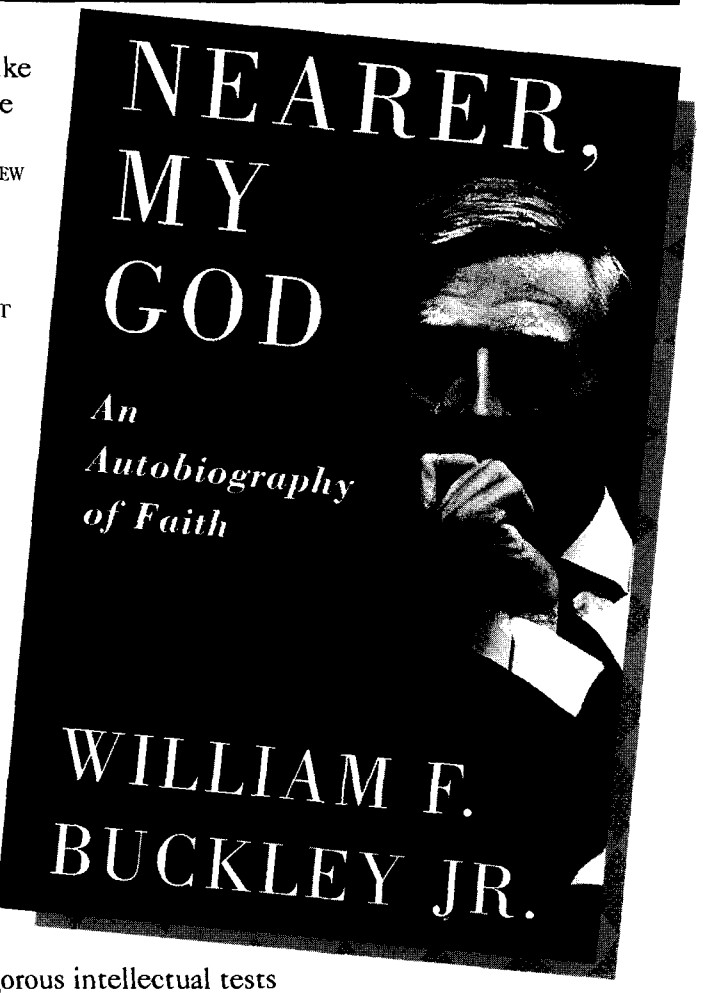
State _____ Zip _____

Sales tax will be billed with shipment to residents of CT, NJ & TN.
Fax number: (203) 831-9365

To get your books fastest, call 1-800-367-4534.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Selection of the Book-of-the-Month Club. Chosen as one of the Best Books of 1997 by *Publishers Weekly*.



". . .the book never stops being an autobiography. Then, like the best of essays, Buckley's ends where it began, with the question of religious practice in Christian schools."
—THE NEW YORK TIMES BOOK REVIEW

"A splendid story about a modern pilgrim's progress . . . erudite, engaging, poignant, and inspiring."
—WILLIAM J. BENNETT

"This beautiful book might easily be read as a kind of *vita* of the heart, a spiritual narrative that evokes a life that has found joy in the journey." —OUR SUNDAY VISITOR

". . . an inspired miscellany rich in anecdote, witty, and animated. What gives it unity as a book is the warmth and the depth of Buckley's faith, at once complex and many-sided and as simple and trusting as a child's."
—CHRISTIANITY TODAY

". . . this may well end up a cultural landmark, one that leads, as much or more than it reflects, the religious revival sweeping the country." —THE DETROIT NEWS

". . . a rollicking adventure story of the spirit, an elaborate trek around and about the lofty peaks of belief and conviction . . . a fascinating, intelligent, and deeply humane demonstration of belief in the face of the most rigorous intellectual tests and challenges. Belief emerges unshaken, and with it a profound sense of peace and purpose."—THE BALTIMORE SUN

"A radiant book. A dimension of Buckley not previously visible in public—a faith that is touching and inspiring and quite beautiful."
—LANCE MORROW

"I am a lifetime unbeliever. I have no reason to think that [my friend] Buckley is aware of that, such is the nature of his civility; I have never raised the point. But on reading this breathtakingly powerful book, a work of Olympian humility, I now know he cares."
—MICHAEL PAKENHAM

"Buckley has never made a secret of his strong Christian faith, yet he confesses to a temperamental reticence. 'I am not trained in the devotional mode, nor disposed to it' he writes—nor, one might add, the evangelical mode. That is precisely what makes his new book unique . . ."
—BOOKS & CULTURE

"This work is vintage Buckley: opinionated, articulate, moving, self-righteous, maddening, and elitist but never boring."
—LIBRARY JOURNAL

"The philosophical and theological apologetics works in its own framework, but the personal part for me works a whole lot better. It makes the book a Christian classic, something I can give to students to say, here is Christianity, not as a matter of theory or doctrine, but as a living religion. Here he has taught that lesson in a book."
—PROFESSOR JACOB NEUSNER

Seventh Printing ◆ *Published by Doubleday*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK

■ In Teheran, *Iran News* editorializes that diplomatic talks on ties with the United States cannot resume until Mrs. Clinton buys the President an iron chastity belt. The First Lady, it adds, is by their count already the Fourth Lady, and losing ground. Hey, Iran, we'll do the jokes.

■ The "vast right-wing conspiracy" has been getting awfully crowded, so much so that the Membership Committee has been asked to administer the following test: Write an essay of five hundred words on two (2) of the following: 1) We bought it, we built it, we intend to keep it. 2) Nattering nabobs of negativism. 3) Extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice. 4) Who promoted Peress?

■ It doesn't mention wiretaps or a love dress, but the draft of the Thompson Committee's report on Chinese attempts to influence the 1996 election is hot stuff. "There are indications," the report concludes, that such efforts, so far from being the activities of discrete zealous businessmen, were "undertaken or orchestrated, at least in part, by People's Republic of China intelligence agencies." What businessmen did they orchestrate? The Indonesian–Chinese Riady family, whose longtime employee John Huang got a berth first at the Commerce Department, then at the DNC (both with a security clearance). What needs did Mr. Huang fill? The Clintonites needed campaign money for TV ads, and hush money for Webb Hubbell; the Chinese needed economic information. What did Mr. Huang do? He got top-secret briefings; sent numerous calls, faxes, and messages to friends unknown from a private office across the street from his official one; raised a ton of money; and communed with the soon-to-be-hushed Hubbell. Was he alone? No: Maria Hsia, Al Gore's cicerone on the Buddhist temple circuit, "has been an agent of the Chinese government." Foreign influence, warned Publius, was the Trojan horse of republics. The Burton Committee should give this horse a long look in the mouth.

■ Like the Punxsatawney groundhog, the subterranean struggle among Republicans over who will be the next Speaker briefly poked its head above ground in February. Majority Leader Dick Armey has been recovering the edge he so frequently displayed as a backbencher, proposing a ban on human cloning and issuing sharp memos on how Republicans should tackle moral issues and on the threat of creeping health-care socialism. His likely rival, Rep. Bill Paxon (R., N.Y.), is co-sponsoring one of the creepy bills. It is not his only recent misstep. First he called for federal funding for 100,000 new teachers, a gimmicky solution to a bogus crisis. Then the *Buffalo News* reported that Paxon would challenge Armey for his job, a story Paxon's spokesman denies. Days later, the *New York Post* reported that in her forthcoming book, Paxon's wife, ex-Rep. Susan Molinari (R., N.Y.), characterizes Newt Gingrich as disloyal, delusional, and weepy; she also claims that Armey, not Paxon, was behind last year's abortive coup. Paxon distanced himself from his wife's account, not altogether convincingly. Paxon's selling point as a Republican leader has always been political savvy, not policy soundness. He has the potential for both, but right now he is not showing much of either.

■ The House could vote as early as March on the bill on Puerto Rico sponsored by Rep. Don Young (R., Alaska), which Ralph Reed says would "establish a fair and balanced process by which the political status of Puerto Rico would finally be determined." Reed should study the bill. It lets islanders pick a card from a deck stacked thoroughly in favor of statehood. The ballot language about keeping commonwealth status is inaccurate and negative; victory for the commonwealth option would lead merely to further referenda; and victory for statehood, even by just one vote, would force Congress to consider it on an expedited basis. Reed and others make two political points in favor of the bill: it would help Republican "outreach" to Hispanics and Puerto Ricans who have "conservative values." Actually, it is not at all clear that most Mexican-Americans, for instance, care much about the issue, except when asked biased poll questions by Frank Luntz; and the strong pro-life sentiment Reed adduces in Puerto Rico has not prevented pro-abortion politicians from prospering there. Move to table.

■ Deep in the innards of California's Proposition 227,

...MR. PRESIDENT, THE LATEST POLLS SHOW YOU AT 78%, AN ALL-TIME HIGH... YOU'RE UP SIXTEEN POINTS SINCE THE LEWINSKY CHARGES...
...COME HERE OFTEN?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CORRECTIONS: In John Simon's film review in the Feb. 23 issue, the final line was not printed. The complete final sentence should read: "In one of his manifestations, he spouts Syrian–Aramaic at the cops, who take it for Dutch; I take the whole thing for double Dutch." . . . And in "Cuba Libre" by William F. Buckley Jr. (Feb. 23), a quote from an observer about the Pope should have read: "Let me put it this way. If the man I laid eyes on had been my father, I'd have called an ambulance and told it to take him to the nearest hospital."

Silicon Valley entrepreneur Ron Unz's "English for the Children" initiative to abolish much of what goes by the name of bilingual education, is a $500-million handout to schools and "community organizations" for adult English literacy. This money, distributed over ten years, would be administered by the state's education establishment—the same people who brought California so many of the bilingual programs that Prop. 227 means to abolish. If Unz intends to lure the California Teachers Association and "community organizations" (i.e., the Left) into silence with this taxpayer-funded giveaway, his ploy may be working. The CTA has committed only $750,000 to the fight. Polls show high levels of support for the initiative, including among Hispanics. But if anti–Prop. 227 organizers are smart, they will run a campaign based on fiscal conservatism that cuts deep into Unz's base of supporters. This is an unfortunate marriage of bad politics and bad policy in an otherwise worthy initiative.

■ At a recent gathering of influential social conservatives, Dr. James C. Dobson, president of Focus on the Family, criticized Republican leaders for placing party over social-conservative principle. "Is this the way it's going to be? If it is, I'm gone, and if I go, I will do everything I can to take as many people with me as possible." Dobson could make good on the threat. Many religious conservatives are uncomfortable with political activism and only too happy to concentrate on their own families and churches. So Republicans would be wise to pay attention. But Dobson's energy would be spent most effectively fighting those liberal Republicans who thwart the will of their party's conservative majorities. Pro-family conservatives should mount primary challenges to House and Senate incumbents who oppose their agenda. For example, Sen. Bob Bennett (R., Utah) has led the fight for National Endowment for the Arts funding, and Rep. Sherwood Boehlert (R., N.Y.) votes for legal abortion and against making it harder to raise taxes. Both hold safe Republican seats. Even unsuccessful challenges, like Charlie Gerow's to Rep. Bill Goodling (R., Pa.) in 1996, can have a salutary impact; Goodling has moved right to prepare for a rematch. An actual primary defeat somewhere would be even better, *pour encourager les autres*.

■ A FRIEND WRITES: Andrea Dworkin wants *NR* to know that not all feminists have rallied around Bill Clinton, and encloses an interview she did with the *Guardian*. On his favorite form of sex: "the most fetishistic, heartless, cold sexual exchange that one could imagine." On Mrs. Clinton: "She is covering up for a man who has a history of exploiting women. If there is one thing being a feminist has to mean it's that you don't do that." On the vast right-wing conspiracy: "Yes, there are right-wing people who hate the Clintons, but to think there's a conspiracy would mean somehow [they] planted the young woman in Clinton's office to entice him into sexual acts." Predictions: "I think he's toast." Suggestions: "Hillary should shoot Bill, and then President Gore should pardon her."

■ In the "comprehensive approach" to child care introduced by Senate Democrats, stay-at-home moms don't rate the same tax credits as parents who put their kids in daycare. No wonder. According to Sen. Christopher Dodd (D., Conn.) stay-at-home moms have chosen the "luxury" of motherhood over employment because they "want to go play golf or go to the club and play cards." And we thought they were changing diapers.

■ A series of apparently unrelated events in the former Soviet Union suggests the emergence of a newly aggressive Russian policy. First came the toppling in early February of Armenia's President Levon Ter-Petrossian, just as he appeared on the verge of peacefully resolving the conflict with Azerbaijan over Nagorno-Karabakh. The quiet coup in Armenia was orchestrated with the support of the pro-Russian Armenian military. Then came the assassination attempt against Georgia's reformist President Eduard Shevardnadze, who has resisted efforts by Russia to dominate his small country. Now come reports in the *Washington Post* that Russia had made a deal to sell technology capable of producing biological weapons to Iraq. Each of these events advances Russian hegemony and enhances the influence of the hardline factions within Russia's foreign- and security-policy elites. Such factions are associated with the Russian Foreign Minister and former KGB operative Yevgeny Primakov. President Yeltsin can deny involvement in the mischief all he likes, but as long as Mr. Primakov remains Russia's foreign-policy architect no one will believe him. The U.S. should heed the Russian bear's ever-louder growls.

■ The Church of England will change the words of the Lord's Prayer, replacing "Lead us not into temptation" with "Save us from the time of trial." According to the *Guardian*, the Bishop of Salisbury "argued that few people now understood what the phrase 'lead us not into temptation' really meant." Yes, your Grace, temptation is outdated, since it hardly occurs to most folks to resist it anymore and they skip straight to the litigation phase. Just change "deliver us from evil" to "deliver us into the hands of competent legal counsel," and you'll be back in business.

■ The Material Girl claims she has grown up, thanks to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLIMB INTO WINNEBAGO for 8 BUCKS.

AMERITRADE saves you money, no matter which way you trade.

$8 internet trades $12 touch-tone phone trades $18 broker-assisted trades

Commissions are flat rate. No limit on shares traded.

Ameritrade was created for people who like to be in the driver's seat when they trade.

At Ameritrade our low commissions let you head off in new directions any time you feel like it, without having to think twice about the cost per trade each time you do. Because with Ameritrade you can wheel and deal and buy or sell as many shares of Winnebago as you like, for one flat fee.

Plus, no one offers you a wider range of trading methods than us, which gives you plenty of room to maneuver. For example, you can trade on line for just $8. Choose to trade by touch-tone phone for just $12. Or if you like, make a broker-assisted trade for just $18.

Combine those great choices with our speed, accuracy, and twenty-three years of experience in the brokerage business and you're assured of a smooth ride no matter where you're headed.

So go for really low commissions on each and every trade you make. Go with Ameritrade.

And happy trails to you.

Ameritrade®

THE WAY TO TRADE. PERIOD.

Open your Ameritrade account by April 15th and get a Free IRA for Life!
Call 1-800-441-8451. Or visit our website at www.ameritrade.com.

No annual fee IRA is valid for the duration of the account • Member NASD/SIPC • $2,000 minimum equity required to open your account
SIPC account protection is $500,000 with $100,000 for cash claims. Limit orders are an additional $5.00 • $10 million additional account protection provided
Copyright 1998. Ameritrade, Inc. • Winnebago is a registered trademark of Winnebago Industries, Inc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

her 16-month-old daughter, Lourdes. Pop singer Madonna, has, in the past, brought us a pornographic picture book and all manner of lyrics and MTV videos about sex. In an interview with *Vanity Fair*, she now explains that it all may have been her way of saying "Papa Don't Preach" —she was rebelling against her father and her upbringing. Now that she's an adult and mother, she credits daddy with giving her discipline and preparing her and her brother for the rest of their lives. Even single motherhood is not all it's cracked up to be, because it's probably best to have someone to turn to to ask, "What do you think we should do?" Too bad she didn't have a daughter about 15 years ago.

■ Does anyone believe that Kenneth Starr is not responsible for the President's troubles? Yes. Fidel Castro blames Sen. Jesse Helms (R., N.C.). "I sincerely hope that [Clinton] can overcome," Fidel adds. "I think the actions of his adversaries are really dirty. It's a real example of the things that occur in that country, of the lack of ethics." Hey, Fidel, we'll do the jokes.

■ Did Bill Clinton say he wants to change the minimum wage or the minimum age?

Starr-Crossed

IF you can't argue the facts, argue the law. If you can't argue the law, argue the facts. If you can't argue either, argue Ken Starr. Starr has been described as "rabid," "puritanical," and out to get Clinton, but this is a new rap. Before his appointment he was considered the epitome of a Washington establishment lawyer. Conservatives respected him but did not consider him a co-conspirator. Upon his appointment, they worried about his lack of prosecutorial experience and zeal—worries reinforced by his quickly retracted announcement last year that he would leave his job for a post at Pepperdine's law school.

Now he is being lectured by Lawrence Walsh, the former independent counsel who made unsubstantiated criminal accusations against Reagan Administration officials. Sen. Robert Torricelli (D., N.J.) pillories him because he has represented tobacco companies. Tobacco companies, apparently, no longer have a right to legal representation. Should Clinton's lawyer Robert Bennett be considered a crook because he represented Dan Rostenkowski? Does David Kendall, another Clinton lawyer, have a conflict of interest because he represents the *National Enquirer* and NATIONAL REVIEW, both of which have in different ways criticized the President?

Kendall has accused Starr of an illegal campaign of leaks against the President. His scores of complaints are based on a very broad reading of the applicable law. At most a handful are legitimate—and there is no proof that Starr's office was the source in those cases. Starr is not the only one with a motive for leaking. If the Clintonites think negative information will eventually get out, they have an interest in getting it out tainted at the same time. Nothing is too Machiavellian for this White House.

And that, in turn, raises a little-remarked issue: the ability of a President to manipulate public opinion, contrary to all predictions, is increasing. From the Thirties through the Fifties intellectuals worried about the power of executive propaganda. But the decentralization of communications technology and the rise of alternative media were all supposed to bury that fear, according to prophets like George Gilder and Peter Huber. And the executive branch has grown weaker, the press more adversarial, over the last three decades. But Clinton's Starr wars suggest that a President who has refined the techniques of propaganda can prevail, at least in the short run. And how long a run does a second-term President need?

Meanwhile everybody is still interested in the story. Even though they say they aren't. Popular sentiment is what people think. Public opinion is what they want people to think they think. The divergence was highlighted by a CBS news poll which found that only 42 per cent had any curiosity about the President's sex life. When the pollsters asked if *other* people harbored such disreputable curiosity, 74 per cent allowed as how, well, yes, they probably did.

That silent majority has not yet coalesced into any definite judgment, because testimony is still trickling in. But the damning two-part trap—that only an affair explains the President's relationship with Monica Lewinsky, and that if there was an affair, then he has lied about it (cf. his press conferences) and others have been encouraged to lie (cf. her affidavit)—waits to be sprung.

Bill Clinton faces another enemy, which is as dangerous as popular sentiment, and which is manifest rather than latent. The mainstream press, it is clear, is not giving him a pass on this one. It winked at his philandering and draft dodging in 1992; it has pursued Whitewater and his campaign-finance scandals fitfully. But the Lewinsky affair—maybe because it's the latest of a series, maybe because it recapitulates the Gennifer Flowers story of six years ago—

Life's Little Ironies

Inarticulate George Bush
Raised an army that
Left Saddam Hussein et al.
Looking doormat-flat.
Clinton, who entices birds
Into pastry pies,
Strikes out with the Arabs, though
Mr. Cohen tries.

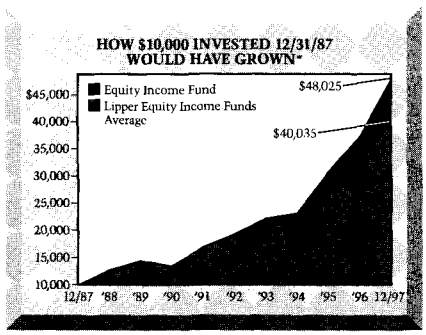
—W. H. VON DREELE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

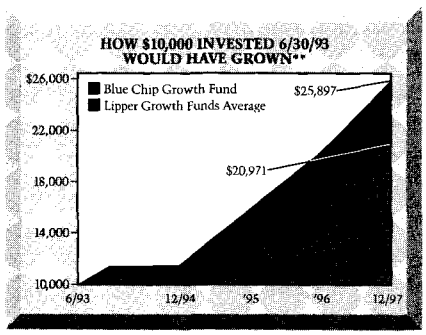
NEW YEAR. NEW RULES.

Is your IRA positioned for the long term?

Consider these two growth-oriented T. Rowe Price mutual funds for your IRA. Once you've analyzed all your options under the new IRA rules, and have figured out which IRA could provide you with more retirement income, it's important to find a mutual fund that you can feel comfortable with for the long term. That's why you should consider the following two **100% no-load** mutual funds, both of which have proven themselves over time.



Equity Income Fund seeks substantial income and long-term capital appreciation by investing primarily in stocks of established companies paying above-average dividends. The fund may be appropriate for IRA investors interested in protecting their purchasing power and cushioning their assets against volatility through dividend income.



Blue Chip Growth Fund pursues long-term capital appreciation by investing primarily in established companies with strong market positions in growing industries. The fund may be appropriate for IRA investors seeking capital growth that may exceed inflation over time and who are willing to assume market risk.

Make the most of your IRA under the new rules. To see how you can invest your retirement savings in one or more proven performers, call T. Rowe Price today. We'll send you all the information you need to get started. Of course, past performance cannot guarantee future results.

For a free IRA Investing Kit and a prospectus, call 24 hours:

1-800-401-4627

www.troweprice.com

Invest With Confidence®

T.RowePrice

*28.82%, 19.95%, and 16.99% are Equity Income Fund's average annual returns for the 1-, 5-, and 10-year periods, respectively, as of 12/31/97.
**27.56% and 23.53% are Blue Chip Growth Fund's average annual returns for the 1-year and since inception (6/30/93) periods, respectively, as of 12/31/97.
Figures include changes in principal value, reinvested dividends, and capital gain distributions. Investment return and principal value will vary, and shares may be worth more or less at redemption than at original purchase. Read the prospectus carefully before investing. T. Rowe Price Investment Services, Inc., Distributor. IRA041146

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Here Comes Charlie

In the White House, they're depressed.
On the lawn a source assessed
Noises from the family rooms—
Grunts or, some say, sonic booms.
Though they nearly woke the dead,
Sources subsequently said
It was just the Mrs.' knee
Plowing into Charlie Trie.

—W. H. VON DREELE

has gotten its back up. The *New York Times* has been treating the President as if he were a Republican. Starr soldiers on like some doughboy in a trench in World War I; Clinton flies high. Don't expect it to last.

Iraq in Four Steps

SUPPORT for a limited air strike against Iraq is beginning to fade both in Congress and among the American people. Questions have arisen over what the U.S. would hope to accomplish and whether the limited air power now deployed in the Persian Gulf region is capable of effecting any positive resolution.

NR senior editor Peter Rodman offers a better course of action in the following pages. Whether the current crisis is resolved diplomatically or through the use of force, these principles should underpin thinking on this matter.

Treat the Problem, Not the Symptoms: The problem is Saddam Hussein's regime, not weapons that can be produced by any country capable of making pesticides. Hussein's driving political imperative is his own survival. Unless you threaten that, you merely kick the can down the road as we have done for the past seven years.

Think like TR: The Clinton Administration has turned Teddy Roosevelt's motto on its head—talking a strong line while offering a series of may-work half-measures as military options. We even sent home one of three American aircraft carriers last week, a particularly bad move considering the refusal of Saudi Arabia to allow us to send bombers from their large bases. Strident threats backed up by a weak military presence is an Arab game, not ours.

Not through the Air Alone Shall We Succeed: Eliot Cohen's five-volume examination of air power in the Gulf War led him to the conclusion that like modern American courtship, "air power offers instant gratification without commitment." Military options using ground troops, however difficult, should be explored. Unless Saddam senses that there is at least an American willingness and capability to use ground forces, he will merely ride out air strikes, hope for a few POWs (especially female fliers), and parade his dead before the world.

Give It Straight to the American People: The President is avoiding answering the real question: "Are Saddam and his possession of weapons of mass destruction such a clear and present danger that we should be willing to go to war?" Until that question is confronted, the Administration is left trying to convince the public of something not to be believed: that Saddam is an intolerable presence who can be dealt with on the cheap.

Blueprint for Failure

SENATE and House Republicans have emerged from their policy conferences with a fiscal blueprint that deserts longstanding party principles and forecloses meaningful tax reduction and reform. Instead of giving projected revenue surpluses back to the taxpayers who earned them and forcing down the size of government, the GOP is again entangled in a balanced-budget politics that will ratify the Washington status quo.

Drafted by Sen. Pete Domenici (N.M.) and his staff, and circulated by policy-conference officials Sen. Connie Mack (Fla.) and Sen. Paul Coverdell (Ga.), the "Outline of Basic Principles and Objectives" maintains the Bush–Darman rule that tax reduction must be offset by reduced entitlement spending or so-called closing of tax loopholes—and not by discretionary spending cuts. What is more, the Senate policy statement insists on placing debt retirement above tax relief in order to shore up Social Security and Medicare. But retiring debt held in public hands is completely different from redeeming the non-marketable debt held by the trust funds. The former would slightly reduce net interest expense in the budget. The latter would only create funds to be immediately reclaimed by the U.S. Treasury for purposes of funding general government expenses. Once again, Republicans are caught in a poorly baited Clinton trap.

GOP leaders in both Houses are missing the crucial economic point—namely, that federal tax and spending burdens have increased substantially during this recovery cycle. For instance, the economy-wide marginal tax rate on working Americans has soared to 37.5 per cent over the past two years. The economy-wide tax rate averaged 21.7 per cent during the Reagan recovery, but it has jumped to a 26.8 per cent average during the Clinton cycle.

What we have now is a huge income-redistribution scheme. Progressive tax rates in the context of prosperity are throwing off record revenue flows that are funding continued increases in domestic spending. Successful work is being punished, not rewarded. Over time, people will supply less labor (see Alan Reynolds, p. 44), and government will supply more spending. This represents a far greater threat to lasting economic growth than the Asian

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

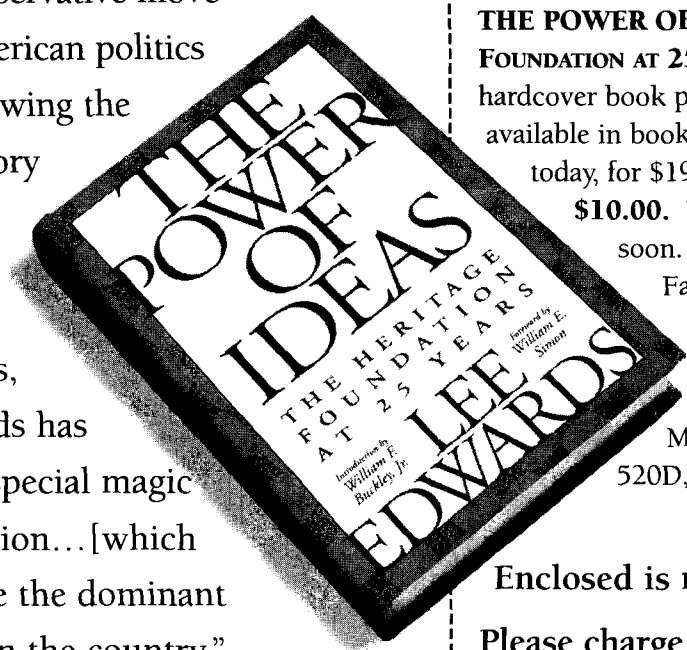
"Lee Edwards has written a fascinating book about the rise of the Heritage Foundation from modest beginnings to a pillar of the conservative movement."

—Milton Friedman

"This is not just the chronicle of another think tank. It is an inspiring tale of the men, women and ideas that in twenty-five short years have built the conservative movement's indispensable institution."

—Michael Reagan

One cannot begin to understand the modern conservative movement in American politics without knowing the 25-year history of Heritage.


THE POWER OF IDEAS
THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION AT 25 YEARS
Introduction by William F. Buckley, Jr.
Foreword by William E. Simon
LEE EDWARDS

As Bill Buckley says, "Lee Edwards has caught the special magic of a foundation...[which has] become the dominant think tank in the country."

Introduction by William F. Buckley Jr. & Foreword by William E. Simon

The Heritage Foundation
214 Massachusetts Ave., N.E.
Suite 520D
Washington, D.C. 20002-4999

SPECIAL OFFER

THE POWER OF IDEAS: THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION AT 25 YEARS, is a $29.95, 360-page hardcover book published by Jameson Books and available in bookstores—or you can order direct today, for $19.95 postage paid and **save $10.00.** This "Special offer" expires soon. Call: 800-544-4843
Fax coupon to: 202-543-9647
Email to: pubs@heritage.com
Mail this coupon to The Heritage Foundation, 214 Massachusetts Ave., N.E., Suite 520D, Washington, D.C. 20002-4999.

Enclosed is my check for $_____

Please charge my ❑ VISA
❑ Mastercard

No. _____

Signature _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

crisis. It's time for Republicans to begin to think about bailing out the American taxpayer.

Smoke Screen

IF the tobacco companies conspired on their own to raise the price of cigarettes by $1.50 a pack, it would be grounds for an antitrust investigation. But when politicians, trial lawyers, and anti-smoking activists join the conspiracy, it is grounds for self-congratulation.

Under the tobacco deal taking shape in Congress, almost everybody gets something: the cigarette makers get protection against liability; the lawyers get money for their legal services; the activists get money for research and anti-smoking ads; the politicians get money for pet programs and credit for saving the youth of America from nicotine slavery. The only party that has been excluded from the negotiations is the one picking up the tab.

In fact, the whole arrangement can be viewed as a sneaky way of raising the cigarette tax—which happens to be one of the most regressive levies around, since the poor smoke more than the rich and devote a larger share of their income to the habit. It is remarkable how readily so many liberals, usually so keen on redistributing income from the top down, have accepted the idea that cabbies and waitresses should pay for super-lawyer Ron Motley's new yacht.

The Clinton Administration, which is counting on money exacted from smokers to pay for $65 billion in new spending initiatives, refuses to face the reality that it is now allied with the tobacco companies in pushing for a deal. "This year Congress has a choice to make," declares Clinton advisor Rahm Emanuel. "They can either stand shoulder to shoulder with corporate tobacco and their profits or protect our children and insure their health and safety." These days, it seems, the only way to show your independence from the merchants of death is to vote for the legislation they so desperately want.

Family Disunification

HOW is mass immigration from Mexico transforming the United States? Well, in addition to creating a taste for salsa and a market for mariachi music, the immigrants have given the U.S a big boost in teenage unwed motherhood. A study by the National Center for Health Statistics revealed that Latino teenagers were bucking a national trend toward lower teenage birthrates. For the first time, the Hispanics' steadily ascending teen birthrate overtook that of black Americans, which has been dropping in recent years.

For those who cluck cheerfully about the "strong family ties" of Hispanic immigrants, the new figures are ominous: two-thirds of young Latina mothers have no husbands. Hispanics born in the U.S. are more likely to bear children as teens than those who came as immigrants, a phenomenon which suggests that whatever assimilation process is going on tends to draw Hispanic immigrants into the life patterns of the American underclass. Some explain these trends by noting the Latinos' commendable aversion to abortion; experts also point to their ignorance about birth control, failure to grasp that sex can lead to pregnancy, and family lives disrupted by absent parents or the immigration process itself.

While a young Latina mother may merit our sympathy, the broader consequences of this teen birth explosion should not be taken lightly. If social scientists have learned anything in the past two generations, it is that communities which tolerate high rates of illegitimacy and let boys grow up without fathers are courting social disorder. Because the Latino share of the population is expanding, any burgeoning Latino culture of poverty will make its impact widely felt. Thirty-three years ago, Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D., N.Y.) gave a prescient warning about the breakdown of the African-American family, for which he had no easy remedy. Now, thanks to feckless immigration policies, the United States is sowing difficulties which could prove of at least comparable scope.

Their Favorite Aunt

Betty Currie, whose probity's such
She would never renege going Dutch,
Spilled her guts and the beans
To Ken Starr over scenes
The insouciant French wouldn't touch.

—W. H. VON DREELE

Enoch Powell, RIP

ENOCH Powell was a member of the House of Commons for nearly 37 years, a Cabinet minister for 15 months, and prime minister never. Yet, in the history of twentieth-century British conservatism, he ranks with Winston Churchill as an orator and Margaret Thatcher as an ideological force.

There has been no other political figure remotely like him. He was a rigorous scholar—professor of Greek at the age of 25—relentlessly, even gleefully, following the logic of an argument to its often uncomfortable conclusion. He was a speaker whose every sentence emerged lucid, grammatically and syntactically correct, and yet powered by an almost mystical zeal. He could make an audience of seaside landladies enjoy a lecture on monetarism. And he was a man of the strictest principle, repeatedly

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATIONAL CONSERVATIVE STUDENT CONFERENCE

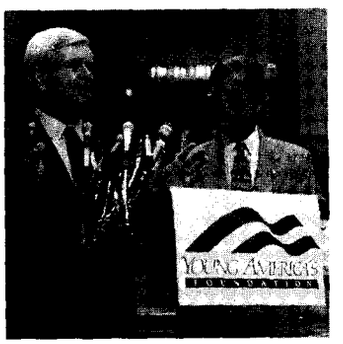
July 19-25, 1998

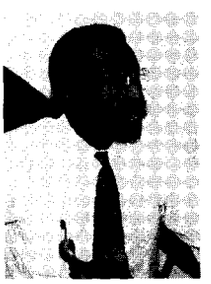
George Washington University

Washington, D.C.

"When you have people like Bill Bennett and Newt Gingrich and Dick Armey who are willing to come out and identify with you and encourage you and praise the work that you're doing, it's inspiring!"
— Candice Mayhugh, Stanford

"The conference gave me the tools and drive necessary to help win back the campuses!"
— Jay Keller, Penn State





Young America's Foundation • 110 Elden Street • Herndon, Virginia 20170 • www.yaf.org

YOUNG AMERICA'S FOUNDATION

For further information or to register call 1-800-292-9231

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

damaging his own career by refusing to fudge or compromise.

Such a man was never likely to prosper within the system. As an editorial in the London *Telegraph* observed, "He suffered among his political contemporaries as a man with perfect pitch suffers among the tone-deaf."

His governmental prospects were ended by a single speech delivered in 1968, when he warned of social disaster if the flood of Afro-Caribbean immigration continued. "Like the Roman," he said, quoting Virgil, "I seem to see 'the River Tiber foaming with much blood.'" Liberal opinion was outraged, and Edward Heath promptly sacked Powell from the Shadow Cabinet. Simultaneously, a considerable section of the non-intellectual British public, seeing him as the first politician to articulate their own fears, made him a hero. But what became known, misleadingly, as "the rivers-of-blood speech" distracted attention from everything else he said.

Logic led him into curious positions. A romantic imperialist, he was deeply saddened by Britain's loss of India, a country he loved: but, once it had taken place, he wanted a complete withdrawal from east of Suez. A romantic soldier (the youngest brigadier in the wartime British army), he denied the value of a nuclear deterrent which no one believed would really be used. A romantic patriot, he argued against subservience to American policy no less than against subservience to Europe.

But in one field at least, his ideas have triumphed. There was "Powellism" before there was "Thatcherism." He tirelessly preached the virtues of a free market; that fixed exchange rates are madness; that an "income policy" is absurd; that inflation is a government-caused monetary phenomenon; that high taxation can be avoided only when governments stop doing things which they ought not to be doing. Margaret Thatcher learned much of her economic philosophy from Powell, and the message has been partly absorbed even by Tony Blair's "New Labor."

"All political careers," Powell once said, "end in failure." His own was manifestly unfulfilled: but the words of the Prophet Enoch will be read, recalled, and discussed long after his more conventionally successful opponents have dwindled into footnotes in a PhD thesis.

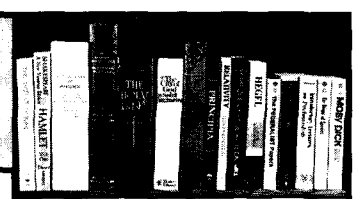
—Anthony Lejeune

Julian Simon, R I P

JULIAN Simon nearly single-handedly routed the most prominent environmental scaremongers of our time: from the Club of Rome, to Al Gore. Simon's "doom-slayer" crusade began in the late 1970s during the era of energy crises, raging inflation, and global food shortages—a time when we seemingly were all Malthusians. The declinism reached its nadir with the publication in 1980 of the Carter Administration's report "Global 2000," which predicted that "by the year 2000 the world will be more crowded, more polluted, and less stable ecologically and the world's people will be poorer in many ways than today." The only conceivable solution was coercive population control. It was all so depressing. And, as Simon taught us, it was all so wrong.

In 1981 Simon published his masterpiece, *The Ultimate Resource*, and then a year later *The Resourceful Earth* (co-written with Herman Kahn of the Hudson Institute). Those books presented a vast arsenal of data on how life

SUMMER GREAT BOOKS PROGRAM
FOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS



Two Sessions - June 14 - 26 or August 2 - 14, 1998

Designed for students who have completed at least two years of high school, this program offers an opportunity to exercise the mind, the spirit and the body. The classes will be conducted, as all classes at Thomas Aquinas College, using the Socratic method of discussion. These will be guided by full-time faculty of the College, with no more than twenty students.

The two week course includes Sophocles' *Antigone*, the *Crito* of Plato, the *Declaration of Independence*, and readings from *Genesis*, Kierkegaard's *Fear and Trembling*, Shakespeare, Euclid, Pascal, C.S. Lewis and more.

Thomas Aquinas College is a seriously Catholic college, but non-Catholic students are gladly welcomed into the summer program. Mass will be celebrated daily, for those who are interested, and at least one chaplain will be available on campus at all times.

Intense thinking should be tempered with rest and play, and the location of the College is ideal for recreation of all sorts. Besides daily sports, an occasional movie, and hiking in the hills surrounding the campus, there will be trips to such places as Los Angeles to attend a concert or visit a museum, and to Santa Barbara to enjoy the beach and the historical sites of the city.

The $675 cost includes housing, meals, books and organized activities off campus.

Contact Thomas J. Susanka, Director of Admissions.
Thomas Aquinas College, Box 105, 10000 North Ojai Rd., Santa Paula, CA 93060
(800)634-9797 www.thomasaquinas.edu

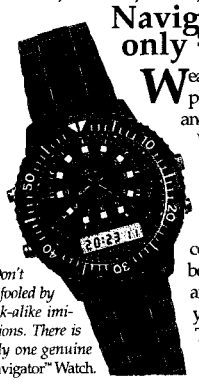
THOMAS AQUINAS COLLEGE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Haverhills' Best Sellers

Still the greatest watch value: in the air, on land, at sea, and underwater...

Navigator™ Watch only $49.95*



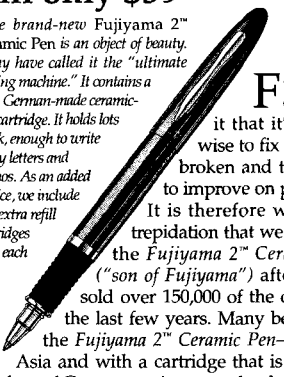
•Don't be fooled by look-alike imitations. There is only one genuine Navigator™ Watch.

Wear this watch to work, to play, to swim and dive—and to rally. The Navigator™ Watch is steered by a sophisticated, ultra-accurate Japanese quartz movement that is powered by a tiny mercury cell. The Navigator™ has both luminous analog dial, and LCD display. It gives you dual time capability. The LCD display shows time continuously—in 12-hr. or 24-hr. mode. Push the button and you display day and date. There is a subtle yet insistent alarm and a switchable hourly time signal. The stopwatch/chronograph reads to 1/100 secs. and has "interrupt" and "lap" modes. A light switch illuminates the display.

The *Navigator™ Watch* is available in black metal execution (as per illustration, with linked black metal band) and silvertone (stainless steel execution, with linked silvertone metal band). It is water resistant to 150 ft. The crystal is "mineral glass"—it is virtually scratch-proof. ***Navigator™ Watch* #1005D622a for black and #1005D622b for silvertone execution.**

Does this Japanese model outperform famous European luxury pens?

Fujiyama 2™ Ceramic Pen still only $39.95*



•*The brand-new* Fujiyama 2™ Ceramic Pen *is an object of beauty. Many have called it the "ultimate writing machine." It contains a large German-made ceramic-ball cartridge. It holds lots of ink, enough to write many letters and memos. As an added service, we include two extra refill cartridges with each pen.*

Folk wisdom has it that it's seldom wise to fix what isn't broken and to attempt to improve on perfection. It is therefore with some trepidation that we introduce the *Fujiyama 2™ Ceramic Pen, ("son of Fujiyama")* after having sold over 150,000 of the original in the last few years. Many believe that the *Fujiyama 2™ Ceramic Pen*—made in Asia and with a cartridge that is the finest product of German stationery technology—is the most handsome and best-writing pen in the world. *Fujiyama 2™* has stunning hi-lacquer gunmetal finish, fine gold-plated accents and snappy clip. It has perfect heft and feel and, of course, just like its predecessor, it writes like a dream. And with its new cushioned Turbogrip™, which lets you write for hours without tiring, this pen has now been brought to the edge of the 21st century. ***Fujiyama 2™ Ceramic Pen.* #1049D622c**

Rid your home of varmints and pests once and for all...

Rodelsonix IX only $69.95*

Mice, rats, roaches, bats, fleas, spiders and other pests make life miserable at home or at the plant. Old-fashioned poisons get rid of them—but only temporarily, and they are a hazard to you and to your pets. *Rodelsonix IX* works on a different principle: It delivers a tremendous blast of ultrasound—inaudible to you and your pets—that disrupts the nervous systems of those pests. They'll leave your home within a few weeks—never to return. No poison and no mess.

Rodelsonix IX is an industrial-type unit designed and engineered to be effective in restaurants, factories, and food-processing plants. It protects up to 10,000 sq. ft. (70,000 cu. ft.). It has six variable pitch and "loudness" settings. You can even adjust it to keep larger pests, such as raccoons or rabbits, at bay. ***Rodelsonix IX* #1007D622d**

Increase your hearing range by a factor of at least 10X, with...

PowerVox IV™ only $39.95*

•PowerVox™ *is state-of-the-art in sound amplification. It does for hearing what binoculars do for seeing. It brings everything 10-times closer.* PowerVox™ *is not a medical hearing aid. It is a way for you to better enjoy the world of sounds around you.*

The instructions to the *PowerVox IV™* caution you to have the control on "very low" when you first try the instrument. If you do not, it could scare the daylights out of you. The thing is truly astonishing and in a way almost unbelievable until you try it and convince yourself. Put the *PowerVox* in your shirt pocket or clip it to your belt and realize to your amazement you can hear people talking up to 50 feet away, a pin drop 10 feet away, and every little sound in your surroundings. A walk through the woods will reveal birds, deer, squirrels, and even little crawly things that you never would have known about otherwise. *PowerVox IV* comes with a full complement of attachments: Belt/Pocket Clip and Earphones. The 9-volt battery is included of course! ***PowerVox IV™* #1050D622e**

A whole new world of listening pleasure with...

MR-307A PLL Digital AM/FM Radio only $59.95*

•*The MR-307A works on two AAA cells and, yes—they are included! It measures 2.5 x 4 inches and weighs less than five ounces. Fidelity is crisp; it's astonishing especially for a radio of its size.*
•*Consider the MR-307A as a corporate gift. We can silkscreen your logo on quantities of 100*

You won't believe it until you actually hear it. Here is a radio so small that it comfortably fits into your shirt pocket; but it has sound so clear and so crisp that you'd think you were in a concert hall or listening to an elaborate sound system. Here are some of the other great features of this breakthrough receiver:

- **PLL Synthesized Tuning**
- **Built-in Speaker**
- **High-Impact Case**
- **State-of-the-Art Technology**
- **10 Memory Presets**
- **Stereo Earphones**
- **Stereo Phone Jack**
- **Stereo/Mono Switch**
- **Key-Lock Function**
- **Batteries Included**

Get most advanced technical features, "shirt pocket" AM/FM reception as you never had before, and enjoy a whole new world of listening pleasure. *MR-307A PLL Digital Radio* **#1057D622f**

More than just a telescope...more than just a microscope...

Episcope

(the complete vest-pocket optical system)

still only $59.95*

•*Even at its highest magnification of 30x, the* Episcope *resolves as distinctly as any laboratory microscope, yet it is only 2" long. An optical miracle!*

Remove the *Episcope* from its fitted leather case and it's a 30-power microscope. A twist of the wrist converts it to a 3x telescope, or a unique 3x telescope-loupe. Another twist, and you have a choice of magnifiers and loupes: 5x, 10x, and 15x powers. The *Episcope*, only 2" long, was developed in Wetzlar (Germany), the home of world-famous Leica cameras; it's now being made by one of Japan's finest lens makers. The optics are superb; brilliant luminosity, needle-sharp focus, absolute planarity, total chromatic corrects, and fully anastigmatic. The *Episcope* is the first choice of geologists, biologists, numismatists, philatelists, engineers, and just anybody who likes to see the infinite detail in his/her surroundings. It comes with a plastic "tripod" for extended observations at 15x or 30x magnifications. ***Episcope* #1062D622g**

Our "special deal" **BUY ANY 2 ITEMS AND GET ANOTHER ONE FREE!**
For instance: Buy a $69.95 item and a $49.95 item and get another $49.95 or lesser-priced item FREE!

FOR FASTEST SERVICE, ORDER BY TOLL FREE PHONE OR BY FAX SEE NUMBERS BELOW

For customer service, please call (415) 543-6675. For wholesale orders, call Chris Simpson at that same number.

You may order by toll-free phone, by mail, or by fax and pay by check or Visa/MasterCard. Please give order number shown after the item. Add $4.95 shipping/ins. for each item **(except three Rodelsonix IX** for $9.90), plus sales tax for CA delivery. You have 30-day return and one-year warranty. We do not refund shipping charges.

since 1967
haverhills®
185 Berry St. San Francisco, CA 94107

✆ *Order by toll-free phone: (800) 797-7367 or by fax (415) 546-7808* ✆

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was getting better. Simon argued that we were not running out of food, water, oil, trees, clean air, or any other natural resource because throughout human history the price of natural resources had been *declining*. He showed that over time, the environment had been getting cleaner. He showed that the "population bomb" was a result of a massive global reduction in infant mortality rates and a stunning increase in life expectancy. If we place value on human life, Simon argued, then those trends are to be celebrated, not lamented.

What ultimately vindicated Simon's theories was that the doomsayers' predictions of global famine, $100-a-barrel oil, and so on were all discredited by events. The ultimate embarrassment for the Malthusians was when their guru Paul Ehrlich bet Simon $10,000 in 1980 that five resources (of Ehrlich's choosing) would be more expensive in ten years. Ehrlich lost: ten years later every one of the resources had declined in price. Simon's central premise was that people are the ultimate resource. "Human beings," he wrote, "are not just more mouths to feed, but are productive and inventive minds that help find creative solutions to man's problems, thus leaving us better off over the long run."

I met Julian Simon in 1980 when I was an undergraduate at the University of Illinois, where he taught economics. After reading his books, I realized that everything I had been taught since the first grade about population and environmental issues had been wrong. For the next 18 years, I was privileged to have Julian as a mentor and a friend. We came to Washington together. He complained from time to time that his writings never received the recognition they deserved from professional academics. That was probably true, but it is also true that he has had a more profound impact on the policy debate in Washington than any randomly selected one hundred of his academic peers combined. He was always a happy warrior, even when he jousted with *NR* on immigration.

Two weeks before Julian died, I was driving through central Iowa and was surprised and delighted to find that gasoline was selling for 89 cents a gallon. I hadn't seen gas priced that low since the early 1970s. I instantly thought of Julian. —STEPHEN MOORE

NOTES & ASIDES

■ Dear Bill:

The Pope would not like it, but consider this idea: when a boy reaches 16 have him make several deposits at a sperm bank and then submit to a vasectomy.

When and if he marries he will have several hundred million sperm to select from if he desires children.

Advantages:

1. fewer unwanted pregnancies;
2. fewer disgusting abortions;
3. less cost to government tracking down careless fathers and extracting child support.

Some will say this will encourage fornication but how could the situation be worse? The proposed idea could be subsidized privately or publicly or both.

Mark Valory
Santa Cruz, Calif.

Dear Mr. Valory: Right, the Pope wouldn't like it. Neither do we. Schematic hubris. Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I very much enjoyed *Nearer, My God*. In an age of corrosive unbelief, it was heartening to read this eloquent account of your Christian faith.

However, I must point out a musicological inaccuracy that occurs on page 126, where you discuss J. S. Bach's *Passion According to St. Matthew*. You identify the artistic climax of the work as "the chromatic movement toward the depths of desolation as Christ dies ('*et sepultus est*'), leading to the brassy triumph of His Resurrection ('*Et resurrexit*')." This is arguably the artistic climax, not of the *Matthew Passion*, but of the *Mass in B Minor*. Both are transcendental masterpieces, and so such conflation is understandable. Perhaps in subsequent printings this error could be rectified.

Thank you again for another splendid book.

Sincerely,
Michael Cotton
School of Music, University of Nebraska, Lincoln
Lincoln, Neb.

Dear Mr. Cotton: A dumb mistake. Sorry. And thanks, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley;

In April, I had the pleasure of responding to your request for a special contribution to NATIONAL REVIEW. In the past, I was unable to help; this past year, my financial situation has somewhat improved, and I was honored to help. Last week, I renewed my subscription. I realized that I have been reading NATIONAL REVIEW for about 16 years, no great accomplishment until you learn that 16 years ago, I was 13 years old.

Your publication has been a great influence on me as it has been on so many Americans. A topic arises in conversation or on the news, and though the years have passed, I remember that I first learned about that particular subject in NATIONAL REVIEW.

Thank you very much specifically for NATIONAL REVIEW, but also for your many books, including those on your sailing excursions and the Blackford Oakes novels.

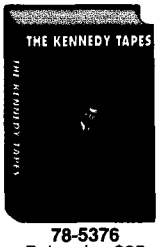
Sincerely,
John A. Kasulaitis
Euclid, Ohio

Dear Mr. Kasulaitis: Well, thanks. That makes us *all* feel good. Cordially, **—WFB**

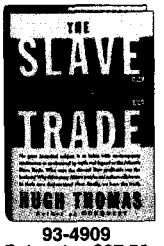
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE BEST HISTORY HAS TO OFFER

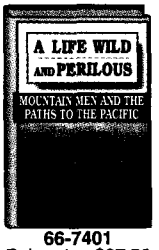
Take any 3 for $1 each, plus a 4th at 35% off the publisher's price.
With no obligation to buy more.



78-5376
Pub. price $35



93-4909
Pub. price $37.50



66-7401
Pub. price $27.50

87-0478
Pub. price $25

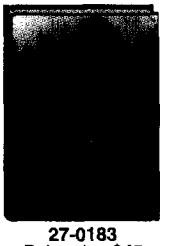
58-4081
Pub. price
$27.50

82-3944
Pub. price
$35

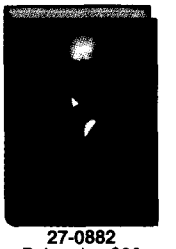
36-2011
Pub. price
$29.95

58-4803
Pub. price $40

72-7692
Pub. price $27.50

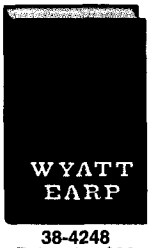


27-0183
Pub. price $45



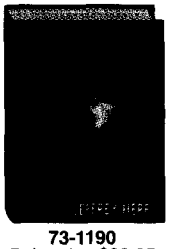
27-0882
Pub. price $30

23-5980
Pub. price $29.50

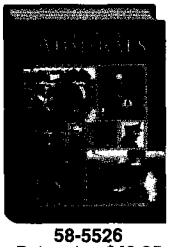


38-4248
Pub. price $30

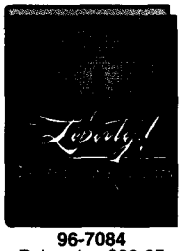
58-4643
Pub. price $35



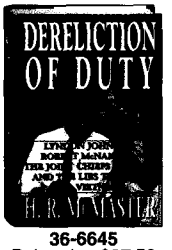
73-1190
Pub. price $29.95



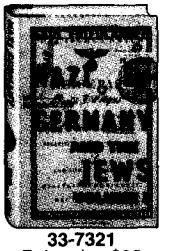
58-5526
Pub. price $49.95



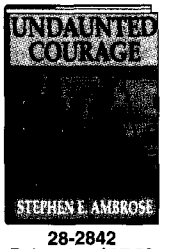
96-7084
Pub. price $39.95



36-6645
Pub. price $27.50

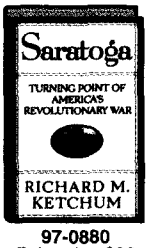


33-7321
Pub. price $30

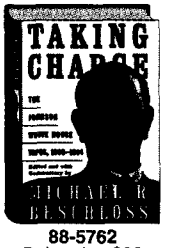


28-2842
Pub. price $27.50

67-1383
Pub. price $34.95



97-0880
Pub. price $30



88-5762
Pub. price $30

71-6309
Pub. price
$35

78-3416
Pub. price
$30

73-5911
Pub. price
$25

NO POSTAGE
NECESSARY
IF MAILED
IN THE
UNITED STATES

BUSINESS REPLY MAIL
FIRST-CLASS MAIL PERMIT NO. 224 CAMP HILL PA

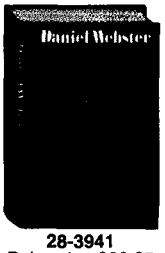
POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY ADDRESSEE

HISTORY BOOK CLUB, INC.
CAMP HILL PA 17011-9526

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

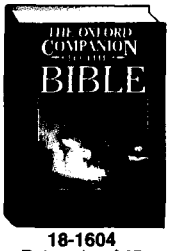
TAKE ANY 3 BOOKS FOR JUST $1 EACH

Plus a 4th at 35% off the publisher's price, with no obligation to buy more.

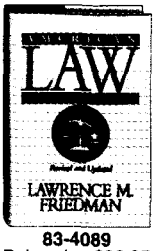


28-3941
Pub. price **$39.95**

84-8766
Pub. price **$26.95**



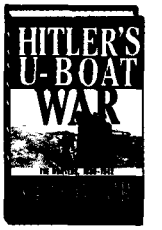
18-1604
Pub. price **$45**



83-4089
Pub. price **$29.95**

85-2633
Pub. price **$40**

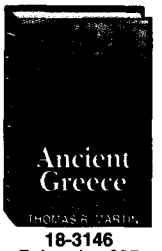
52-2883
Pub. price **$27.95**



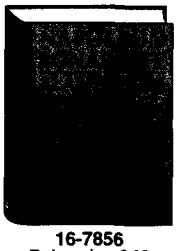
28-3122
Pub. price **$40**

48-4554
Pub. price **$27.50**

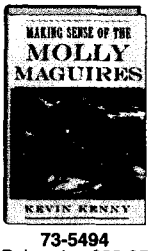
48-0957
Pub. price **$45**



18-3146
Pub. price **$35**

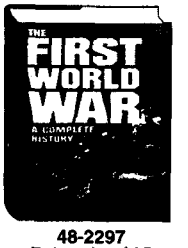


16-7856
Pub. price **$40**



73-5494
Pub. price **$39.95**

23-7160
Pub. price **$25**

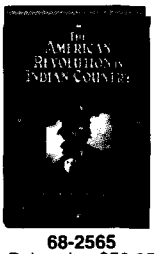


48-2297
Pub. price **$35**

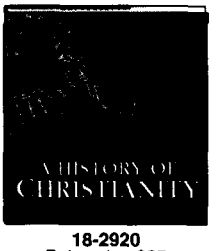
25-7010
Pub. price **$27.50**

98-2816
Pub. price **$24.95**

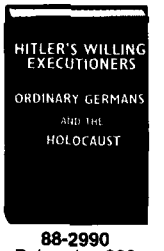
58-2644
Pub. price **$35**



68-2565
Pub. price **$59.95**

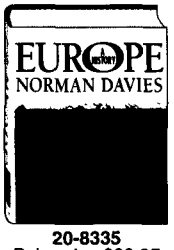


18-2920
Pub. price **$35**

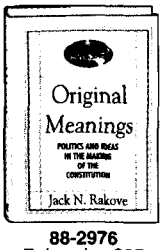


88-2990
Pub. price **$30**

56-6583
Pub. price **$27.50**



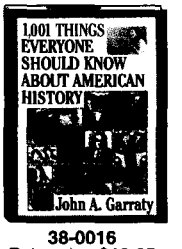
20-8335
Pub. price **$39.95**



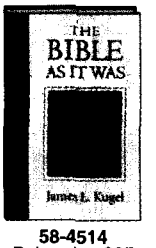
88-2976
Pub. price **$35**

88-0053
Pub. price **$24**

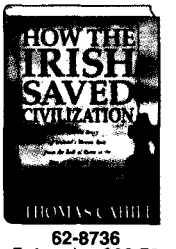
66-6711
Pub. price **$30**



38-0016
Pub. price **$19.95**



58-4514
Pub. price **$35**



62-8736
Pub. price **$22.50**

HISTORY Book Club®, Camp Hill, PA 17012-0001

Please enroll me in History Book Club according to the no-risk, no-commitment terms outlined in the accompanying ad. Send me the 4 books whose numbers I have listed below. Bill me $1 each for 3 choices, and the 4th at 35% off the publisher's price, plus shipping and handling.

8-19 H123-2-4

3 choices at $1 each: — — —

4th choice at 35% off the publisher's price: —

Name

(Please print clearly)

Address Apt. #

City State Zip

#053

To help us serve you, please tell us what you like to read.	STRONGLY DISLIKE	SOMEWHAT DISLIKE	NO OPINION	SOMEWHAT LIKE	STRONGLY LIKE
A. Civil War	1	2	3	4	5
B. Ancient History	1	2	3	4	5
C. Military History	1	2	3	4	5
D. American History	1	2	3	4	5
E. British History	1	2	3	4	5
F. Russia, Asia, the Middle East	1	2	3	4	5
G. European History	1	2	3	4	5
H. Current Affairs	1	2	3	4	5
I. Social/Intellectual History	1	2	3	4	5

Send no money now. All orders subject to approval. Prices and offer may differ in Canada. ©1998 History Book Club.

Guarantee of Satisfaction: You may examine your introductory books for 10 days, FREE. If you are not satisfied, for any reason whatsoever, simply return the books and you will be under no further obligation.

All the best history. All in one place.

HBC

No matter what area of history you enjoy reading about most, you'll find that History Book Club offers some of the finest selections being published today. And no book club we know offers greater savings—as much as 30% off publishers' list prices. You can save even more by taking advantage of our Introductory Offer. Select any three books on this page for $1 each when you take a fourth book at 35% off the publisher's price, plus shipping and handling. Thereafter, you're not obligated to order any more books. You may cancel your membership at any time by notifying History Book Club. We may cancel your membership if you elect not to buy at least one book in any six-month period.

How the Club works. You'll be able to choose from 150 to 200 books featured each month. History Book Club always offers its Members well-made, long-lasting editions.

You'll receive our *Review* about every 3 weeks (up to 18 times a year). If you want the "Editors' Choice," do nothing—the book will come automatically. If you want another book, or no books at all, return the Reply Form by the date specified. A shipping and handling charge is added to each shipment.

Your HBC guarantee: If you receive an unwanted "Editors' Choice" because you had less than 10 days to decide, just send it back and owe nothing.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CAPITAL SCENE

In Denial

RICHARD LOWRY

WASHINGTON, D.C.

"IN 1959 the poverty rate for elderly Americans was 35.2 per cent," White House economic advisor Gene Sperling tells a packed audience of reporters in the White House briefing room. It's the start of the third week of Monicagate, and no one is there to hear about the President's Social Security plan—but Sperling perseveres. Helen Thomas grouses from the front row about there being more important topics—"not that are more important to people's lives than Social Security," counters Sperling. CNN's Wolf Blitzer is reading the *Washington Post* sports page, while other reporters yawn. Sperling—short, with wire-rimmed glasses, the very picture of a Washington wonk—continues: "it fell to 15.2 per cent in 1979, to 12.9 per cent in . . ."

When Sperling finishes after half an hour, reporters take up a chant, "We want Joe," meaning Joe Lockhart, the designated scandal spokesman while Mike McCurry is (conveniently) away giving a talk at Harvard. Lockhart, big with wiry hair, a softer version of Bob Bennett, comes ready to bob and weave. Reporters manage to press him into admitting that there is no rule, as the President has maintained, preventing him from commenting about the Lewinsky matter. So did the President mis-speak? "There were several things in his mind that he was talking about." OK, but did he mis-speak? "If that was your interpretation of what he said, that was the wrong interpretation."

This passes for candor among White House spokesmen. It's called the "daily briefing," but as McCurry constantly reminds reporters, "I am not commenting on any of these day-to-day developments." The name of the game is deflection. At his Monday morning briefing, Lockhart repeatedly refers questions to Clinton's personal lawyer, David Kendall. The next day McCurry—who brandishes the offhand cynicism of David Letterman—had recourse to the same dodge, until someone finally pipes up: "Mr. Kendall doesn't entertain questions, Mike." McCurry: "Well, that's a shame."

So it goes at a White House sporting some of the best job approval ratings on record. The deny-deny-deny strategy is not pretty to watch, nor can it be much fun to execute, but it works—like the neutral-zone trap in ice hockey (which essentially involves tackling opponents). One of the reasons the Administration is prospering under siege is that in 1995–96 it mastered an electronic populism that can shape and mobilize popular sentiment without the benefit of any facts or substance.

It was Dick Morris's insight that the traditional powers of the Presidency have diminished, but in the age of mass media, the public-relations power of the White House has dramatically increased. This, then, becomes the chief instrument of policy, a way to shape reality: e.g., health-care costs will go down if you just talk about them going down. It's the primacy of the Big Message, which needn't be wedded to the Big Lie, but in this White House often is. So, to "preserving and protecting Medicare" and "blowing a hole in the deficit," add "getting back to work for the American people."

At a recent rally with Capitol Hill Democrats, President Clinton hugged the theme as if it were an old flame on the rope line. Three "ordinary people"—really representatives of the Democratic base—gave warm-up speeches: a black businesswoman, a working suburban mom, and a student subsisting on Pell and Stafford grants. They all, in the words of the working woman, urged the President not to "stop working for us." Clinton himself in his best aw-shucks manner explained: "I'm not exactly a Washington person, you know. I just sort of showed up here a few years ago for work."

The White House mastered an electronic populism that can mobilize popular sentiment without the benefit of facts.

It's the perfect pose for the President to strike. In the public reaction to the scandal, there is a strong element of a backlash against Washington and the media. People typically want order and stability in their politics. So what are they supposed to think when they wake up one Sunday morning and suddenly everyone on *This Week* is saying their President should resign? No one is yet printing "Annoy the Media, Support Clinton" bumper-stickers, but that may be next. Indeed, Clinton benefits most from the simple fact that he is President of the United States, an office with a majesty that presents itself in the most mundane ways.

After Clinton had a meeting with congressional Democrats in Virginia,

Clinton and Starr by Roman Genn

Mr. Lowry is editor of NATIONAL REVIEW.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

he helicoptered back to the White House. Marine One lands on the South Lawn, an expanse of grass as perfect as a fairway (in fact, there's even a small putting green), with an up-close view of the Washington monument pointing into the baby-blue sky. The roar of the copter can be heard before it looms into view, a huge shiny bug with fearsome 80-foot blades. As it settles on the ground, the wind it kicks up is so powerful reporters are almost knocked over.

A Marine in a sharp navy-blue jacket leaves the front door, marches in toy-soldier straight lines to open the middle door, and out pops—career Clinton henchman Bruce Lindsey. Clinton is down to a core of his most zealous supporters—the likes of former *New Yorker* writer Sidney Blumenthal, busy compiling a Clinton enemies list—and lawyers. Lots of lawyers. The White House is now effectively run by a gaggle of attorneys who by definition have no interest in the public interest or in the truth, but just in thwarting Ken Starr.

Not that the truth matters much. Even in public Clinton defenders give it barely a nod. In her famous *Today* show appearance, Hillary Clinton stopped well short of saying she believes her husband's denials: "I think as this matter unfolds the entire country will have more information." At Harvard, McCurry said, "If it turns out what the President has said has not been fair and square with the American people . . ." *If it turns out*? McCurry flacks for the President every day and he doesn't know one way or the other?

The Administration has gone from asking for the benefit of the doubt to demanding radical doubt. No one knows what the truth is; it's constantly slipping out of grasp. The President gives Monica Lewinsky gifts? It might be a random act of generosity. The President asks his secretary leading questions after he testified? He could just have been refreshing his memory. Clinton denies "sexual relations with that woman"? Well, who knows what that means?

Politics always has about it a measure of bluster and deception. But President Clinton has moved beyond that to something more fundamental. His project now must be to detach presidential power from its moorings in accountability and moral legitimacy. Only the rolling electronic plebiscite of the polls matters—otherwise there are no restraints of ethics, law, or dignity. That's one reason the truth only makes inadvertent appearances in the briefing room. As when McCurry, deflecting yet another question, says: "I think there's no way of predicting at this point what kind of lasting damage we've done to the institutions of democracy." □

Knee-capped

STEPHEN MOORE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

JUST nine months after approval of the much-celebrated budget deal of 1997, Congress is already plotting to bust the expenditure caps for 1999. Given the ignominious fate of the past four bi-partisan budget deals in Washington, this rush was entirely predictable. Members of Congress can't help themselves; it's in their nature.

What is surprising is that it's a new breed of fiscally reckless congressional Republicans who are leading the spending charge. In a series of closed-door House Republican leadership meetings over the past two weeks, Speaker Newt Gingrich and Transportation Committee Chairman Bud Shuster have been lobbying to lift the expenditure limits by as much as $35 billion to accommodate the most expensive highway bill in history. Even the fiercest critics of the 1997 budget deal—myself included—never expected the five-year deal to unravel quite so quickly.

The GOP's budget hawks are outnumbered. Leading the opposition to the spending scheme have been Whip Tom Delay, Policy Committee Chairman Chris Cox, Conference Chairman John Boehner, Budget Committee Chairman John Kasich, and Appropriations Committee Chairman Bob Livingston. Privately each has complained that they represent a minority position not just in Congress, but inside the Republican conference.

"To bust the spending caps would be a betrayal of promises we made to the American people," complains Mr. Kasich. Betrayal is the right word. On February 5 Heritage Foundation President Ed Feulner fired off a terse letter to Gingrich stating that raising the spending caps "would be tantamount to an act of political war against the conservative movement" and has "all the makings of a 'read my lips' broken promise."

It was almost precisely a year ago that Newt Gingrich was arm-twisting conservatives to support the budget deal with emphatic assurances that the spending caps would be inviolable. "This budget deal locks the Democrats into a five-year fiscal straitjacket," Gingrich crowed to a Capitol Hill gathering of budget-deal skeptics from Heritage, the Cato Institute, and Citizens for a Sound Economy.

But Bud Shuster certainly doesn't feel constrained. His pork-filled highway bill exceeds the budget deal's five-year outlay targets by an estimated $30 to $35 billion. The Shuster bill is arguably the most irresponsible spending bill to wind its way through Congress in twenty years. A decade ago, Ronald Reagan vetoed a Democratic highway bill that was more defensible than the current Shuster legislation. Even the Clinton Administration has stated that it "strongly opposes" the bill.

The highway bill is the worst example of Republican drift from fiscal conservatism.

By latest count there are an estimated 1,100 pork-barrel "road" project requests that could make their way into the final bill. That's about three slabs of bacon for every congressman. The projects range from auto museums, to grants, to study "transportation problems in Appalachia," to a Greyhound-bus history center in Minnesota.

The highway bill is merely the worst example of the Republican drift from fiscal conservatism. When the Republicans seized control of the House in 1995, they offered up useless agencies and bureaus to the Budget Committee

Mr. Moore is director of fiscal-policy studies at the Cato Institute and an NR *contributing editor.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

like lambs for the slaughter and ostentatiously eschewed pork. This year, members stampeded to get aboard Shuster's Transportation Committee like frenzied 14-year-olds rushing the stage at a Spice Girls concert. At the start of the session last year the committee was expanded to 73 slots—the largest spending panel in congressional history. One member of the committee, insisting on anonymity (members are terrified of reprisals from Shuster) conceded, "When it comes to transportation funding, we just can't seem to control ourselves."

What is especially galling is that the budget-deal caps are already exceedingly generous. By the end of this, the first year of the deal, federal domestic outlays will have risen by $80 billion, or roughly two to three times the inflation rate. In 1999 the budget is scheduled to rise by another $75 billion. But for Republicans in an election year that's just not enough.

Meanwhile, back at the White House, the Clinton Administration of course has its own elaborate schemes for busting the budget caps. At least $150 billion of new spending over five years is envisioned in the bloated Clinton budget—for Medicare expansion, baby-sitting subsidies, the hiring of more unionized teachers, IMF bailouts, welfare for immigrants, and other red meat for left-wing constituencies.

Republicans surely won't fend off this spending onslaught if they start the budget season by surrendering the moral high ground. The dispute between the two parties is no longer over how much to spend, but over whose priorities govern. Clinton Democrats want to fund populist middle-class social programs, whereas Republicans want to bust the bank to pour concrete. The likely compromise come October: they both get what they want.

If Congress blows a hole through the budget caps, warns sophomore Republican David McIntosh, "voters will reject Republicans in 1998 the same way they rejected big-government Democrats in 1994." Gingrich doesn't see it that way. His strategy for 1998 is to preserve and protect the Republican majority in Congress by piping billions of tax dollars into congressional districts across America just in time for the elections. Maybe that tax, spend, and elect game plan will work for Republicans just as brilliantly as it did for Democrats for nearly half a century.

Then the key question will be: Should conservatives really care anymore? □

Landing Right

MATTHEW SCULLY

WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE griping isn't quite over yet, but the signs are going up and it's now official: Ronald Reagan Washington National Airport.

If you didn't follow the debate here over renaming the airport, you missed some real fun. For one week in Congress it was the early Eighties again: Democrats cower in the shadow of Reagan. Liberals desperately hold their ground. Senate Republicans, in fear of offending cowering Democrats, compromise. Final vote: Something a shade less than complete victory, but good enough, and the results set in stone.

The compromise was to keep the "Washington" instead of a straight "Ronald Reagan National Airport," like New York's JFK airport and Paris's Charles de Gaulle. The idea began with activist Grover Norquist, whose avowed mission in life is to have one large thing in each state named for the Gipper. In September he pitched the idea to Rep. Bob Barr (R., Ga.) and to Kyle McSlarrow, an aide to Sen. Paul Coverdell (R., Ga.), who promptly introduced bills to rename the 58-year-old airport "Ronald Reagan National."

The effort went mostly unnoticed until the opening of the 1998 session, on the eve of President Reagan's 87th birthday. In January, Majority Leader Trent Lott (R., Miss.) and Speaker Newt Gingrich (R., Ga.) not only signed on, but decided to make the bills the session's first order of business.

Resistance in the House was led by Rep. James Moran (D., Va.), whose Alexandria district includes the airport.

Mr. Scully, formerly NR*'s literary editor, is a writer in Herndon, Va.*

FREE TAX GUIDE

FOR INVESTORS:

MINIMIZE THE IMPACT OF TAXES

Our *Tax Considerations for Investors* guide helps you investigate ways to minimize your portfolio's tax burden.

T. Rowe Price has prepared this guide to assist you in identifying relevant tax issues and assessing their possible effects on your investment plans. The guide analyzes the tax implications of investing in stocks, bonds, mutual funds, retirement plans, and annuities. For information that can help you make more sensible investment decisions, request your free copy of *Tax Considerations for Investors.*

Call 24 hours for a free guide

1-800-401-4654

www.troweprice.com

Invest With Confidence

T.RowePrice

T. Rowe Price Investment Services, Inc., Distributor. TCG041148

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

He pointed out that there are already a few things named for Reagan, like a new *Nimitz*-class carrier soon to be christened and a big federal building to be formally opened in April. More important, said Moran, the bill went against everything Reagan himself stood for: "federalism," local autonomy, self-government. "I know Ronald Reagan would not want us to do this. Its an arrogant abuse of power."

When the irony-of-it-all argument failed, we then heard the appeal to economy: It would cost $60,000 for new airport signs, etc.

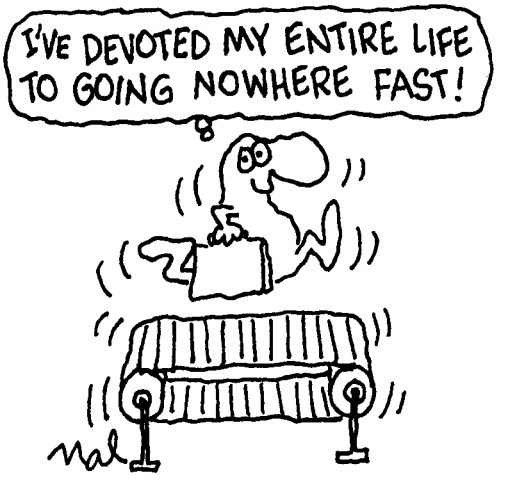
Sen. Tom Daschle (D., S.D.) likewise noted how very "ironic" it was "that in the name of Ronald Reagan we carelessly demonstrate a lack of sensitivity to the local officials that Ronald Reagan said ought to be paramount in governmental decision-making. Do we really want to do that? Again, how ironic it would be if we did."

President Reagan, to examine this little "irony," in 1987 signed a bill granting local control over both National and Dulles International Airport some twenty miles further into Virginia, both of which are operated under a federal lease. The problem with the deregulation argument was that everyone who lives in the area knows how selectively all this cherished autonomy is practiced. There is still, for example, a rule authored by Texas Democrats in the Eighties decreeing that no plane departing National shall fly further than 1,250 miles. The westward-bound traveler is forced either to leave from Dulles or touch down at Dallas–Ft. Worth for some quiet time in the Jim Wright Memorial Waiting Lounge.

When the irony-of-it-all line failed, we then heard the appeal to economy: It would cost $60,000 for new airport signs, untold thousands for local businesses forced to print new stationery, new brochures and maps, and costly new cab receipts, thus wreaking havoc on the region's economy. Ronald Reagan was for cutting costs, observed Sen. Charles Robb (D., Va.). Surely he would not want to burden small businesses. "Creating a controversy that is contrary to his legacy does not honor Ronald Reagan." (Subtext: "Why aren't we naming stuff after my father-in-law, LBJ?")

This prompted a Florida man watching the floor debate on C-SPAN, Robert H. Downing, to fax off a letter to Sen. John McCain (R., Ariz.) offering to pay the sixty grand, and so we moved on to the "dishonoring George Washington" argument. Not since his entombment has our first President been the object of such encomia on the floor of Congress. "Virginia," declared Moran, "is a state which is proud to have produced so many Presidents and Founding Fathers for this nation. We do not want to have the name of our first President taken off the busiest airport in our state." The Moran amendment: "Page 3, line 2, strike 'Ronald Reagan' and insert 'George Washington.' " Daschle suggested that maybe faraway Dulles "might be a better candidate."

Here the problem was that if the airport had been named for the man and not the geographical location, then presumably the namers would have thought to include "George" as they did with the "George Washington Parkway" that runs past the airport and on down to Mount Vernon. Clearly the airport is named for the city named for Washington, as Baltimore–Washington Airport is named for the cities it serves and not for the greater glory of Lord Baltimore. Probably a shrewder move would have been for Democrats to insist that Reagan be accorded full honors with nothing less than his full name, thereby inserting both a Democratic President and son of Virginia: "Ronald Wilson Reagan Washington National Airport."



Next came the "historical perspective" argument, along with the obligatory amendment from Sen. Harry Reid (D., Nev.) to rename the J. Edgar Hoover FBI Building, which led in turn to a discourse on how Hoover had "conducted surveillance on Albert Einstein, Wernher von Braun, Hubert Humphrey, Marilyn Monroe, Clark Gable, Rock Hudson, Elvis Presley, Sen. John Tower, César Chavez, and Irving Berlin, who wrote 'White Christmas,' " winding, in time, back to the airport question and summary rejection of Reid's amendment.

In the House, Rep. James Oberstar (D., Wis.) chirped in with the suggestion that maybe for now, until one day we can all view Reagan with a bit more perspective, "the Ronald Reagan Terminal Building" might be more fitting. The subtext here: "Suppose we just settle for the Reagan National Airport Snack Bar?"

BUT my favorite argument was the call for "a local referendum." "The fact is," as one D.C. resident reminded us in a letter to *The George Washington Post*, "Reagan never won the popular vote among the electorate in the Washington metropolitan area. And it was the Reagan Administration that brought record budget deficits that threatened to wreck the economy of our region and nation," etc.

That first point has to be conceded. Reagan never did win a majority in the District of Columbia, a blot on his legacy right alongside that utter failure to capture the Guam and Puerto Rico blocs. The case for a local referendum I'm not so sure about: "Ladies and gentlemen, thank you for flying United, and welcome to Marion S. Barry Washington National Airport."

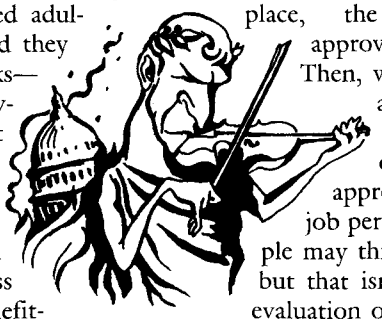
In the end, after a brief filibuster, the name change passed the Senate 76 to 22, and the House 240 to 186, after some very gracious Yeas from Sens. Ted Kennedy (D., Mass.), Chris Dodd (D., Conn.), Harry Byrd (D., W.V.), and Barbara Mikulski (D., Md.). For all their differences, said Sen. Mikulski, "I respect Ronald Reagan. I always will," a nice example of class for Moran and Robb to ponder on their next ride to the landing strip formerly known as Washington National. The "Washington" stays alongside "Reagan," which come to think of it doesn't sound too bad at all. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BREAD & CIRCUSES

The Era of Good Feeling

ROMANCE is in the air. The public has fallen head over heels in love—with Washington. The President isn't the only one enjoying record high job approval ratings. For the first time in over 25 years, a majority of the public approves of the job Congress is doing. Conservatives should be doubly dismayed. The public views the President favorably—even though they believe he's committed adultery and lied about it. And they give Congress high marks—even though taxes and government spending are at record highs.



What gives? The good economy, shrinking deficit, and lack of partisan rancor between Congress and the President have benefitted both. A scandal-weary public is responding like parents whose squabbling offspring have finally quieted down; they no longer care who "started it," they just want to enjoy the peace and quiet. Sixty-three per cent of the public believe that the country is headed in the right direction. Even our rearview mirror has a rosy tint—George Bush raised taxes and lost his bid for reelection, but 74 per cent now approve of the job *he* did.

The President's positive favorability rating has returned to what it was at the beginning of the year, but Congress's jumped by 17 points while it was in recess during the month of January. Not bad for not working. The Clinton scandal drew attention back to Washington, and Congress too gets high marks for the way the nation seems on an even keel.

For its part, Washington's reaction to the high public approval of President Clinton ranges from perplexed to dismayed. As Bob Dole—whose current claim to fame is that he's a Watergate neighbor of Monica Lewinsky—would put it, "Where's the outrage?"

It may be lurking just beneath the surface. A majority of the public believes that Bill Clinton had a sexual relationship with Miss Lewinsky and lied about it. But only 25 per cent of the public both think he's guilty of an improper relationship *and* approve of his job performance.

Clinton's base is among the credulous. Ninety per cent of those who don't believe he had an affair approve of the job he is doing. So, it is reasonable to assume that if more people become convinced that the affair took place, the President's job approval ratings will fall. Then, we could start to see a convergence between the President's low personal approval ratings and his job performance. Now people may think he's a big creep, but that isn't reflected in their evaluation of his work—there is a 24-point gap between Clinton's personal and his job approval ratings.

GOP pollster John McLaughlin marvels at the White House's "masterful public relations campaign to divert attention from the scandal to job performance." He points out that since the State of the Union address, the Administration has consistently told the public what a good job the President is doing.

But McLaughlin sees a long-term vulnerability for the President owing to his weak personal popularity and the public's misgivings about his character. If it is established that the President has lied about the Lewinsky affair, "there will be no second chances, there is no good will in his personal numbers."

For now, the public is ambivalent about the allegations. The President benefits from an abiding loyalty to his office, with 66 per cent of the public believing that it is important to support him until the facts are better known. On the other hand, 57 per cent want the Independent Counsel investigation halted—so much for the facts becoming better known.

People frequently don't care to know an uncomfortable truth, and will respond negatively to those who force them to confront it—like the media and Ken Starr. At the moment, the White House's three-year investment in discrediting Starr is paying off more handsomely than Mrs. Clinton's cattle futures.

The public was never much interested in a complicated land deal from the Gennifer Flowers days, and the D'Amato, Clinger, Thompson, and Burton hearings into past scandals have all been successfully spun as "partisan attacks." If the public didn't think there was sufficient justification to merit past investigations, it is not surprising that they consider Ken Starr just the latest example of a predatory partisan out to get our predatory President.

SOME public attitudes are more difficult to explain. A CNN/Gallup poll found that while only 55 per cent of the public believe that Bill Clinton had a sexual relationship with Monica Lewinsky, 62 per cent believe that he has had sex with a woman other than Lewinsky or his wife since becoming President. But they also believe that committing adultery is downright presidential. Fifty-nine per cent believe that most Presidents had extramarital affairs, and three-quarters find Bill Clinton's faults to be no worse than those of his predecessors.

A large majority still believe that a President can't be an effective leader without strong moral values—in the abstract. In the concrete case of Bill Clinton—although fewer than one in four people would like their children to look up to him as a role model—two-thirds think he's doing a fine job.

Finally, no doubt reflecting the adage that public opinion is "what people think that other people think," a majority declares that Clinton's situation is a private matter concerning his personal life, unrelated to his official duties. According to polls, this clear division between private and public behaviors attaches to illicit sexual activity, but not to other potential problems. The public claims they would want to know whether a presidential candidate abused drugs or alcohol, had a gambling problem, or didn't pay his bills. They need not know about extramarital affairs, a child out of wedlock, or homosexuality.

But Clinton had best not bank on this professed public tolerance. One revelation too many and it might dissipate, leaving Clinton with hot numbers only in his Oval Office study.

—KATE O'BEIRNE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLONE WARS

Asexual Revolution

Hubris and disastrous attempts to change human nature are not new. Cloning is.

E. V. KONTOROVICH

ONE year ago, an obscure Scottish veterinarian named Ian Wilmut demonstrated how to make mammals, and by implication humans, in a laboratory without any act of sexual congress, indeed without sperm or an (intact) egg. Through cloning, a near-perfect genetic replica of a person could be grown from a single cell of skin, or, say, of rib. In the year since, cloning technology has developed rapidly. Experiments on cattle have refined the technique, and chimpanzee embryos have been successfully cloned. The possibility of human cloning now looms imminently, unseen but real.

When the cloned sheep, Dolly, first hit the newspapers, nearly 90 per cent of Americans found human cloning morally repugnant, according to every poll. Perhaps no other moral issue in American history has produced such near unanimity—not slavery, not Prohibition, not abortion. But politicians have been reluctant to cement this consensus into federal law.

A bill recently introduced in the Senate by Christopher Bond (R., Mo.) would have outlawed human cloning under a penalty of up to ten years in prison. It lost under a hail of criticism from medical groups, and even some conservative Republicans, that it would be an unnecessary impediment to scientific research. This is a seductive argument, especially when cancer victims like Sen. Connie Mack (R., Fla.) make it.

But the talk of concrete material benefits from cloning assumes that if it is permissible to reproduce certain cells for certain purposes (e.g., to reproduce a burn victim's remaining healthy skin cells to produce a graft), it is permissible to reproduce human beings in a Petrie dish.

Humans are embodied beings, our souls and physical selves are profoundly intertwined. Cloning would take the humanity out of human reproduction, and in so doing rob our spirits of something that cannot be replaced artificially. Furthermore, the manufacture of human beings on demand without conception would turn people into made-to-order goods, and would in aggregate debase our respect for human life.

Most advocates of cloning ignore the moral arguments and tempt us with small concrete benefits. These potential benefits—many of which, such as a cure for cancer, seem sheer fantasy—play on our current notions of rights and our culture of compassion in a way that gives them considerable political force. But these arguments constitute an end-run around the central issues. They do not sustain scrutiny.

There is little disagreement about the profound effects the cloning of human beings would have on human nature. However, some cloning apologists simply respond, "So what?" For example, Harvard Law professor Laurence Tribe sees flaws in "a society that bans acts of human creation for no better reason than that their particular form defies nature and tradition." Princeton molecular biologist Lee Silver makes a stronger case than many critics do, that cloning would completely redefine human life, but embraces this outcome as a way for us to take control of our destiny as a species and reshape it as we see fit.

We hear most often that cloning could provide perfectly compatible body parts for persons who need them or that it could enable infertile couples and

Roman Genn

Mr. Kontorovich is a writer living in New York.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

homosexuals to have "biological" offspring. It it hard to say without sounding callous, but death and bodily infirmity are concomitant with human existence and in the long run unavoidable. We live in a society where longevity is becoming a value in itself, but longevity cannot justify a practice that is basically wrong.

Cloned organs would probably have to develop in human fetuses, which would have to be aborted when the organs are ready.

As for infertility, it is not even a disabling sickness that, on humanitarian grounds, we should feel obliged to alleviate. It is simply a limitation, on the order of not being tall or wealthy. There is nothing heartless about saying that people should resort to alternatives besides cloning, like adoption. As for those whose arguments are informed by the belief that people have a right to make use of whatever new technologies become available, even Laurence Tribe concedes that there can be no such general right.

When defenders of cloning talk about the brave new world of medical techniques they skip over the fact that its most wondrous manufactures would be Calibans. Consider the likeliest way in which cloning can be used to help with illness: through the creation of perfectly compatible organs for transplantation. It is important here to remember what cloning entails: the DNA-laden nucleus from a somatic (body) cell is placed into a denucleated egg and stimulated into growth with an electric shock. What begins to grow is a "fertilized" egg, an embryo—not a kidney or any other disembodied piece of tissue.

Charles Krauthammer recently wrote about experiments at the University of Texas in which headless mice were created, and raised the specter of headless humans used as organ factories: "there is no grosser corruption of biotechnology than creating a human mutant and disemboweling it for spare parts." Actually, there is perhaps one grosser corruption, for the "headless human" scenario is still a science fiction nightmare: it is much easier to delete mouse genes (preventing the head from growing) than human genes. In the meantime, cloned organs would probably have to develop within human fetuses, which would be aborted when the organs were ready.

This is called "organ farming": growing human life as material. Advocates of cloning like to sidestep the idea of organ farming with visions of growing organs, not a fetus. Such techniques, while theoretically possible, are entirely speculative. There is no reason to believe they will ever be perfected. And, in any case, work with higher-order animals (not banned in any of the bills) would allow such research to continue.

The infertility applications of cloning have nightmares of their own. Consider: a woman wants "biological" children, but her ovaries do not work because of age or other reasons. She clones herself. The fetus will be female, and have inside her ovaries a lifetime supply of eggs, exactly identical to the woman's own eggs. The fetus is then aborted and the eggs harvested for implantation in the woman. This is an option actually entertained by some fertility doctors, who say they already see a market for it; cloning defenders like Professor Silver celebrate this as a marvelous extension of a woman's reproductive capabilities.

The fact that people are already inventing—and endorsing—such scenarios demonstrates the corrosive magic this technology works on the notion of human dignity. Indeed, it is not just the horrific applications but cloning itself that are abominations. For human beings are unavoidably defined by our biological, embodied natures. How we come into being is not trivial: it is central to who we are. This is one of the reasons why incest, even consensual incest—which like cloning, has no "victims"—offends us to our core. It blurs the lines of kinship: the begotten couples with her begetter.

AND if incest crosses the boundaries defined by the human way of coming into being, cloning twists and breaks them. Parents and children would be replaced with "donors" and "clones." The relationship between the parties to asexual reproduc-

END INSURANCE CONFUSION FOREVER! ONLY QUOTESMITH GIVES YOU INSTANT QUOTES FROM 325 TOP COMPANIES

"Quotesmith's interface is marvelously simple... and infinitely faster than phoning dozens of agents."
- The Web Magazine

"Quotesmith provides a list of all insurance companies & plans that match specific needs. The first to make available this new custom-search service."
- Nation's Business

"Quotesmith saved us time and money. I shopped from my own office and found the best deal available. I was impressed."
- Linda Picazio, FL

"Get quotes on the spot. New source for best buys in insurance. One way to get to know the market..." *- Kiplinger's*

"Quotesmith keeps a database of about 350 insurance companies."
- Good Housekeeping

"Quotesmith ranked more than 250 policies for Forbes. The premiums vary wildly." *- Forbes*

"Researching insurance companies can be confusing and tedious. To simplify the task, call Quotesmith." *- SmartMoney*

"Quotesmith will scan the insurers and provide a list of different policies suited to your needs." *- Money*

Quotesmith is the only Internet site on earth where you can get instant quotes from 325 top-rated companies. We give you detailed policy information including the latest ratings from A.M. Best, Duff & Phelps, Moody's, Standard & Poor's and Weiss Research, Inc. on every quote. And when you're ready, you can even apply to the company of your choice online *without having to deal with any insurance salesmen!* Avoid buying mistakes. Use the Quotesmith insurance price comparison service before you buy or renew any life insurance policy. Have questions or want quotes mailed to you? Call us at **1-800-431-1147**, 24 hrs.

QUOTESMITH®
CORPORATION

www.quotesmith.com

NR 3/98

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion would be inherently ambiguous (the species which currently practice it, amoebas and the like, show zero interest in their relatives). But that relationship surely would be affected by the fact that cloning constitutes the manufacture of humans as made-to-order goods. The danger is that if people are made and not begotten, they become like everything else which is but a tool: a means, not an end.

Some writers, like Harvard biology professor Richard Lewontin, say all the furor is over nothing. Clones are no different from twins, they say, so what's the big deal? Well, what was the last pair of twins heard of born fifty years apart to two different women? What woman who gives birth to a handsome child can go to a doctor and request another genetically identical one, or maybe a dozen? The real moral issue is not the genetic make-up of clones, but the method of their manufacture. It is asexual reproduction that robs a cloned child of parents, not the fact the someone else shares his genotype.

Some people, of course, have no patience for arguments about morality and justice, and care only about ruddy, healthy human beings. But even they should reject cloning. In individual cases, cloning may benefit some, but it will be a very selfish advance because in the long run it undermines the advancement of the human species. There is good reason that all higher life forms are reproduced through random combinations of two mates' DNA. The constant changes in genotype create the variety necessary for the species to respond to environmental changes. Since the environment is constantly changing, failure to vary the genotype creates genetic stagnation that can be catastrophic.

We've become accustomed to revolutionary technologies emerging daily, from microchips to surgical lasers. But even the most advanced technologies merely facilitate or improve upon normal human functions. While cloning may look just like a particularly impressive piece of laboratory wizardry, actually it redefines the parameters of human life. Such breakthroughs do not happen every day.

However, one thing we can say about cloning is that it is an entirely new transgression. Unfortunately, since Eve was beguiled by the serpent, mankind has never been good at understanding sin without experiencing it. □

Show Business

The Administration's show of force in Iraq may turn out to be a show of something else.

PETER W. RODMAN

IN his news conference February 6 with British Prime Minister Tony Blair, President Clinton deliberately narrowed the political objective of any military campaign (at that point hypothetical) against the Iraqi regime of Saddam Hussein. A military effort, he said, could realistically seek to "substantially reduce or delay" Saddam's programs for building weapons of mass destruction and the means of delivering them. More ambitious objectives, however, like toppling Saddam's regime or even compelling him to halt his obstruction of the UN inspection team, were not realistic, Mr. Clinton's aides explained. Desirable, but probably not within the reach of a military strike.

One reason for this, unstated by the White House, was that the scope of the planned military blow was being scaled back. Disgruntled U.S. military sources complained to the *Washington Times* that the White House was planning only a three-day air campaign targeting suspected sites related to Saddam's chemical, biological, nuclear, and missile programs (including some of the notorious presidential "palaces"), as well as other military facilities, and tanks and armored vehicles of the elite Republican Guard. The White House had ruled out targets where attacks could inflict greater pain, such as the barracks of the Republican Guard or of Saddam's large security detail, or the headquarters and homes of the political leadership. Cruise missiles launched from ships or B-52s would be used, as well as F-117 stealth fighters, but not the heavier-payload B-2 stealth bombers.

"The White House is only interested in putting on a show," grumbled one military source. Said another, "This is turning into a political, not a military option."

The inhibition is not an accident, but a matter of doctrine. The Clinton team has consciously revived the idea that limited, "political" uses of force are an effective instrument of policy. Liberal academics during the 1960s had developed a philosophical rationale for limited and incremental uses of force, which they believed would convey determination to an adversary while minimizing the dangers of escalation in the nuclear age. This theory of "graduated pressures" and "controlled escalation" was notably tested in Lyndon Johnson's 1965 bombing of North Vietnam—with abysmal results. The real lesson—indeed, one of the most important lessons of Vietnam—was that incrementalism conveyed hesitation rather than determination, inhibition instead of implacability.

But Les Aspin, Clinton's first Secretary of Defense, rejected this lesson. On a Sunday talk show in March 1993 he explained his idea of how military power should be used: "You take the thing one step at a time, you pursue the policy. If that doesn't work . . . well, then, you have to look at the issue again. . . . [W]e take it a step at a time and see where we end up." In his confirmation hearings, Aspin had said straight out that with the end of the Cold War, the critique of incrementalism no longer applied. With the Soviets gone, he said, we need not fear a loss of global credibility if we backtrack after a tentative step.

'This is turning into a political, not a military option,' said one military source.

Of course, the critique of incrementalism had very little to do with the Soviets. It had much more to do with the

Mr. Rodman, an NR *senior editor, is director of National Security Programs at the Nixon Center in Washington and a former White House and State Department official.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sound this big from a radio?

Not just big, but full, rich, and incredibly life-like. You literally have to hear the Bose® Wave® radio to believe it. Very simply, it's like no other radio made. It's small enough to fit just about anywhere, yet its patented acoustic waveguide speaker technology enables it to fill the room with big natural stereo sound. No wonder *Popular Science* magazine called the Wave radio "a sonic marvel."

The Wave radio is designed for convenience as well as great sound. There's a handy remote control, pre-set buttons for your favorite stations, and many other features. You can even

connect it to a CD or cassette player to enjoy your favorite music.

Enjoy the convenience of six interest-free payments.

The Wave radio is available directly from Bose. Simply call the toll-free number to learn about our in-home trial and satisfaction guarantee. When you call, ask about our six-month payment plan.

Only Bose offers all this advanced technology. And for just $349. Call 1-800-845-BOSE, ext. R7384, or return the coupon.

And learn all about a small wonder.

Call 1-800-845-BOSE, ext. R7384

Please specify your color choice when ordering the Wave® radio: ☐ Imperial White ☐ Graphite Gray

Mr./Mrs./Ms. _____ ( ) _____ ( ) _____

Name (Please Print) Daytime Telephone Evening Telephone

Address _____

City State Zip

BOSE
Better sound through research.

Or mail to: Bose® Corporation, Dept. CDD-R7384, The Mountain, Framingham, MA 01701-9168, or fax to 1-800-862-BOSE (1-800-862-2673). Ask about FedEx® delivery service.

©1998 Bose Corporation. Covered by patent rights issued and/or pending. Installment payment plan not to be combined with any other offer and available on credit card orders only. Price does not include $15 shipping and handling and applicable sales tax. Price and/or payment plan subject to change without notice. FedEx service marks used by permission.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

resilience, stamina, and sheer bloody-mindedness of Third World dictators like Ho Chi Minh (or, more recently, Mohammed Aidid in Somalia, or Radovan Karadzic in Bosnia). Having come up through a tougher school than Harvard, these thugs were not impressed by the subtleties of escalation theory. They easily figured out that the limited application of American force probably meant a limited American commitment. (Fear of provoking the Soviets may well have been one of LBJ's excuses for hesitation in Vietnam—an excuse now *removed* by the Cold War's end.)

Though Les Aspin has passed on, the Aspin Doctrine is still alive. If Saddam rebuilds his deadly weapons, "we would be prepared to act again," said national security advisor Sandy Berger on February 8—intending to show determination. But the present policy so far looks like a reassertion of the traditional liberal-Democratic impulse to use military force on the cheap. It is the Bay of Pigs syndrome, the syndrome of Jimmy Carter's Desert One raid that had to be aborted for want of helicopters. It is the dream of accomplishing military objectives "surgically." Just as in 1965, whatever the analytical patina, we are seeing a liberal-Democratic Administration that is still psychologically uncomfortable with the use of force.

Whether to send Americans into combat is the most anguishing decision that a President ever has to make. But the real choice is either to do it, or not to do it. As Henry Kissinger often remarked, doing it hesitantly—and magnifying the risks of failure—doesn't take the moral curse off it. On the contrary, we are committed, our only imperative—moral as well as strategic—is to prevail. For airstrikes to sway Saddam, they must shock him; their power and brutality must far exceed his expectation. Otherwise, he'll just treat it as a cost of doing business.

In Mr. Clinton's case, the inhibitions are compounded by a policy that is still in thrall to the United Nations. A photo opportunity with Tony Blair on February 5 was another occasion when the President focused on the narrow goal of Saddam's deadly weapons: "That is our interest. That's where the authority from the United Nations resolutions rests." But if the stakes for the West are as high as the President has been saying (and he's right), then it is not self-evident why the means must be artificially limited by the predictable recalcitrance of the Russians, French, and Chinese. UN permission is not where an American President's authority comes from.

A weak military action will compound all our problems. If Saddam is left standing after our airstrikes, the pressure to abandon economic sanctions may grow. A blow that is unlikely to be decisive will not win support from nervous Gulf neighbors; if (like the Saudis) they distance themselves from us it's not because they disagree with our analysis but because they doubt our staying power. A weak blow even adds to the risk of an anti-American backlash in the Arab street; this was widely feared during the Gulf War but did not materialize—because the crowd sides with a winner. Will we look like a winner after this?

Several distinguished Americans of both parties have urged a more decisive course—namely, to bring down Saddam's regime. This is not the bogey man that Administration spokesmen invoke—a massive invasion with hundreds of thousands of American ground troops. Rather, it is a strategy of recognizing Iraqi opposition forces as a government in exile, arm this government (with Turkish and Israeli help), turn over to it the $1.6 billion we hold in blocked Iraqi assets, ensure safe havens for its insurgent operations in the north and south of the country, give it radio transmitters, and push for Iraq's UN seat to be turned over to it. The American combat role would not be overwhelming.

The bolder the policy, the more support it will deserve. □

Terminally Inept?

With sectarian zeal and tactical mistakes, a movement begins to bump up against its limits.

JOHN J. MILLER

ON the afternoon of February 5, Tom Bordonaro dropped by the Washington, D.C. office of U.S. Term Limits. He didn't have an appointment, but he won an audience with USTL executive director Paul Jacob anyway.

At the meeting—described by both sides as cordial—the wheelchair-bound Bordonaro asked Jacob a pair of simple questions: "Why are you supporting the election of someone who opposes term limits? And why are you opposing me, a term-limits supporter?"

Bordonaro is the Republican candidate to fill the California congressional seat left empty when Rep. Walter Capps (D.) died last October. In the voting this January, done as a primary, USTL and Americans for Limited Terms, a Wisconsin-based sister organization, spent roughly $100,000 to defeat him. But Bordinaro bested Brooks Firestone, the favorite of establishment Republicans (including the Republican National Committee), and forced a runoff with the only Democrat in the race, Lois Capps, Walter Capps's widow. They will meet in a special election March 10.

USTL and ALT continue to work overtime to elect Capps, who is on the record as opposing mandatory term limits, and to beat Bordonaro, who has promised repeatedly to vote for any term-limits bill that crosses his desk, including a constitutional amendment. ALT's Eric O'Keefe estimates that his organization will spend at least $200,000, most of it on television ads, in the attempt to keep Bordonaro out of Congress.

This counter-intuitive tack is prompting conservatives in Washington and around the country to question the shrewdness of the current leadership of the term-limits movement and to wonder if the idea of term limits itself has outlived its usefulness. "With friends like these," asks Cleta Mitchell, a veteran term-limits activist who now works for the National Federation of In-

Mr. Miller is NR's national political reporter and author of The Unmaking of Americans, *which the Free Press will publish in May.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dependent Business, "who needs enemies?"

USTL's problem with Bordonaro is that he has refused to sign the organization's term-limits declaration, which asks candidates to pledge that they will not serve more than three two-year terms in the House and two six-year terms in the Senate. "I believe strongly in term limits, but I think they have to apply to everybody across the board," says Bordonaro. "I refuse to unilaterally disarm my district." On the other hand, Mrs. Capps has signed the pledge, but told the *Los Angeles Times* that it was "not a hard thing for me because of my age." She's sixty years old.

Ever since the Supreme Court ruled in 1995 that states cannot force term-limits on their federal officeholders, the term-limits movement has searched for a strategy to recover from the setback. "It seems like they rethink their master plan every other month," says one critic, who is a term-limits supporter.

Shortly after the 1995 decision, USTL called for a constitutional convention to enact term limits. That idea was a non-starter. USTL then briefly flirted with the idea of multi-member congressional districts. Jacob personally advocated a bill introduced by Rep. Cynthia McKinney (D., Ga.) that came right out of the Lani Guinier playbook, allowing cumulative voting and other multi-member districting arrangements.

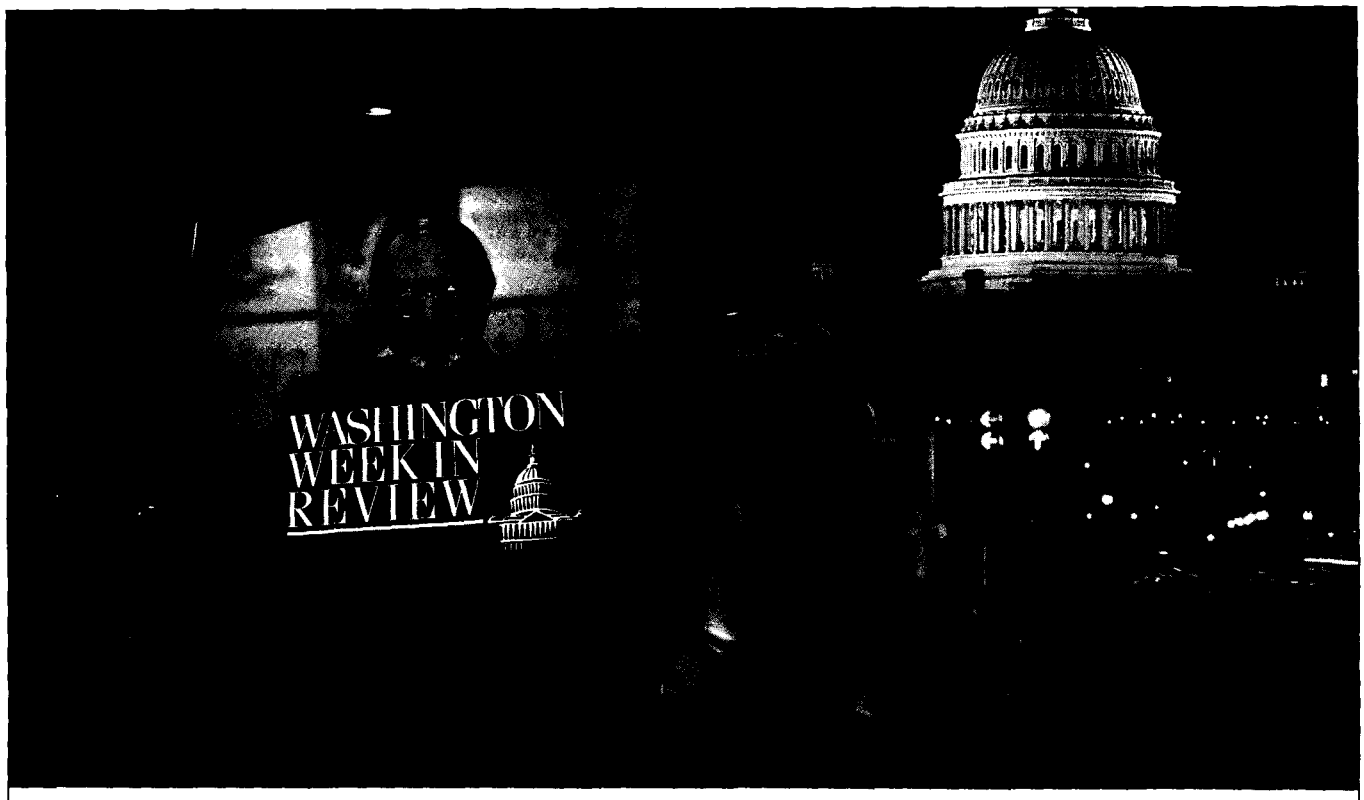
'I believe strongly in term limits,' says Bordonaro, 'but I refuse to unilaterally disarm my district.'

Next, USTL turned to so-called informed-voter laws. They require secretaries of state to identify on the ballot candidates who have not promised to vote for term limits with the notice, "Disregarded Voter Instruction on Term Limits." USTL invested heavily in this strategy, and nine states passed such initiatives in 1996. California may do so in June. But term-limit activists won't spend a penny more on them, partly because these laws are likely to be struck down by the courts, and partly because activists now favor still another idea: politicians publicly pledging to limit their terms in office.

"The central element is to change term limits from a comprehensive proposal to a personal pledge," Jacob wrote in a September 1997 memo announcing USTL's new strategy. This year, USTL will ask every candidate for Congress to sign the pledge. Along with ALT, it will spend millions attacking those, like Bordonaro, who won't.

"The fundamental problem with the term-limits people," says one conservative in Washington, "is that they keep on changing their tactics—and then treat those who disagree with them on tactical matters as apostates." USTL and House Republicans continue to trade recriminations over who deserves the most blame for failing to pass a term-limits amendment to the Constitution last spring. Meanwhile, several Republicans who support six-term limits for the House have come

(Continued on page 48)



After us, it's all old news. Every Friday night on PBS, *Washington Week in Review* leads the weekend news programs. Join commentator Ken Bode and Washington's most savvy reporters for up-to-the-minute insights on the most vital issues of our day. Seven days in 30 minutes.

A Production of WETA Washington DC

Funded by Ford Motor Company

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Wall Street is Main Street

The financial markets aren't just for pinstriped bankers and stockbrokers any more. What does this mean for American society? For Republican tax policy? And how can the boom be sustained?

Stocks Populi

As workers join the investing class, America may undergo a political realignment.

RICHARD NADLER

AN unprecedented demographic revolution is happening right under our noses. It is the emergence of the first mass class of worker-stockholders in history, wage-earners who derive a substantial portion of their income from investments. The fact that our 15-year boom has lured millions of Americans into the stock market is well known. What have not been explored are the implications of this increased participation for the political psychology of American workers.

The rise of the worker-rentier is an enormous conservative opportunity. The only problem is that the Right has yet to realize it. As more and more conservatives chase a vanishing blue-collar constituency, the new constituency grows apace, offering an opportunity for dramatic political realignment—if only it is seized.

First, some data. "In the quarter-century from 1965 to 1990," write Peter D. Hart Research Associates, consultants to the Nasdaq Stock Market, "the frequency of stock ownership doubled from 10.4 per cent to 21.1 per cent of Americans. In the following seven years, from 1990 to 1997, it doubled yet again, standing today at about 43 per cent of adult Americans."

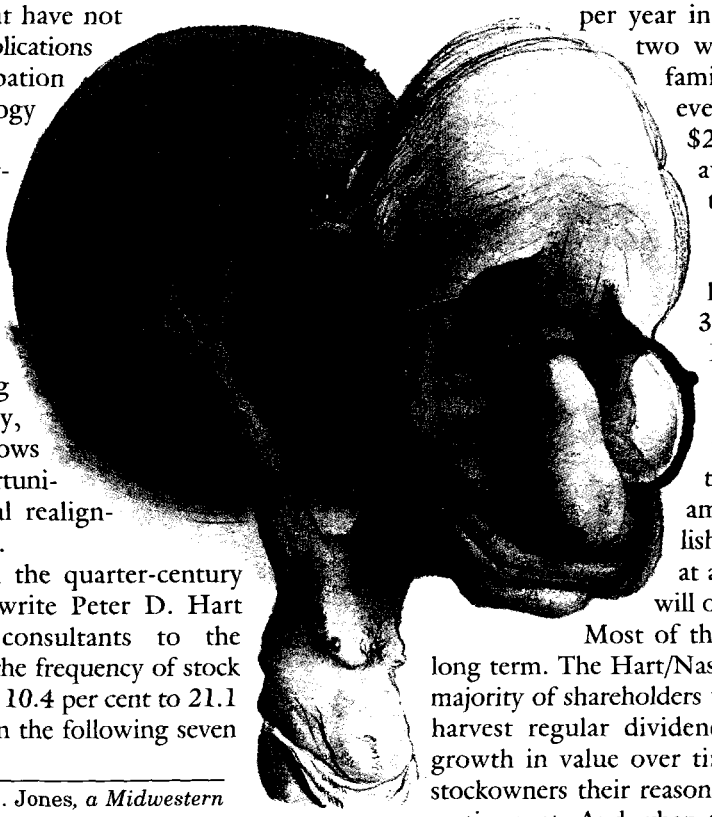
Obviously, a group this large goes well beyond any economic elite. According to the Federal Reserve Board's *1995 Survey of Consumer Finance* (*SCF*), roughly 55 per cent of America's shareholders have family incomes below $50,000. Among households with incomes between $25,000 and $50,000, 48 per cent own stock: a 44 per cent increase since 1989.

The *SCF* records a steady increase in the median value of U.S. household portfolios. As the proportion of households that own stocks increased from 19 per cent in 1983 to 32 per cent in 1989 to 41 per cent in 1995, the median value of their stocks rose from $6,140 to $10,400 to $13,500 (all in 1995 dollars).

A portfolio of this size, appreciating at the Standard & Poor's annual average of 10 per cent, would yield $1,340 per year in income or net worth—roughly two weeks' pay for a median-income family. Many families have done even better. Households earning $25–50,000 own stocks worth, on average, $39,000. For families in the $50–75,000 range, the mean portfolio was about $82,000.

Historically, the age group least likely to hold shares has been 35 years and younger. But from 1983 to 1995, the incidence of stockownership in households headed by someone aged 35 or younger tripled, from 13 per cent to 39 per cent. If ownership among this cohort follows established patterns—i.e., grows to a peak at age 54—two-thirds of households will own stock within a generation.

Most of these new investors are in for the long term. The Hart/Nasdaq survey reported a substantial majority of shareholders who regard stocks not a means to harvest regular dividends, but as an "opportunity for growth in value over time." When the researchers asked stockowners their reasons for investing, 89 per cent listed retirement. And when they were asked how they would

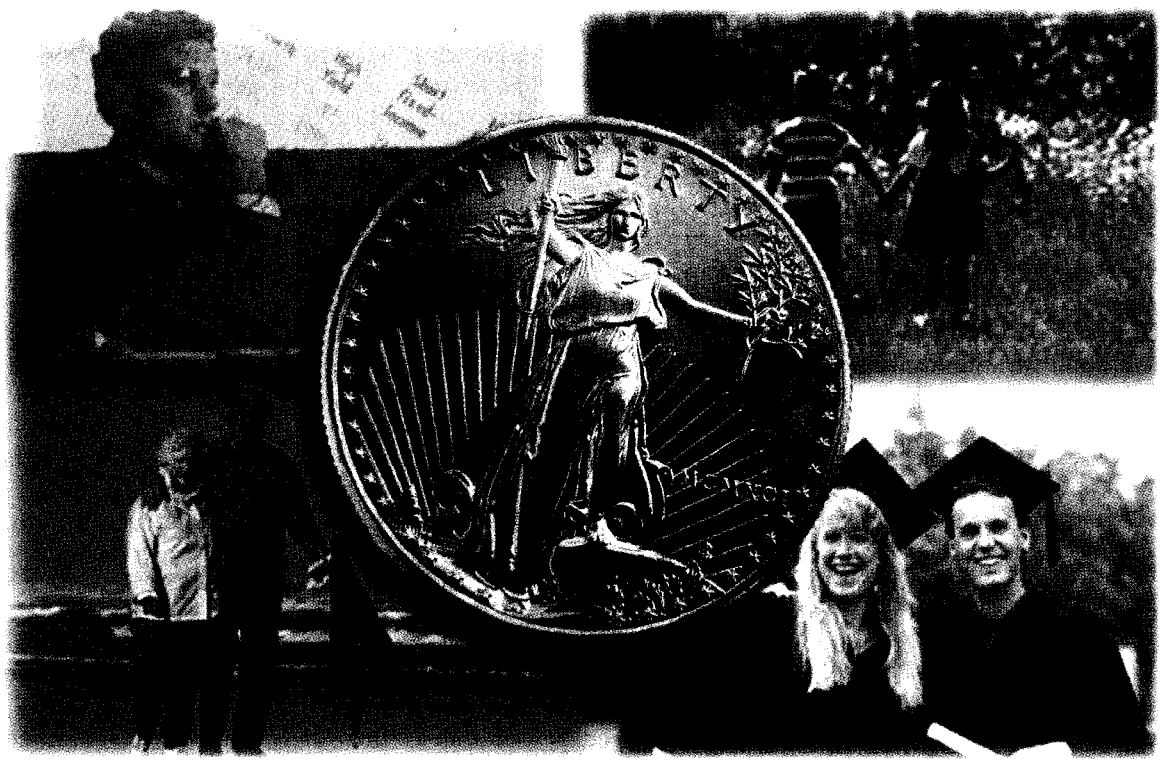


Alan Greenspan by Roman Genn

Mr. Nadler is editor of K.C. Jones, *a Midwestern political monthly.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Today's best investment isn't printed on paper.



If you are concerned about protecting your savings and retirement, investing in your children's future, or simply diversifying your portfolio, you need the 1998 Gold Investor's Guide.

Order our FREE 1998 Gold Investment Guide and see how your investments can be protected and grow in the world's oldest form of wealth...**GOLD.**

This free guide will give you everything you need to know about investing in gold...Today's best gold buys, future trends of the dollar, stocks, and the best way to protect your family's savings and retirement.

Don't be caught uninformed. Call today and receive your FREE 1998 Gold Investment Guide and learn why the "smart money" is buying gold NOW!

CALL NOW!!
1-800-965-0580

LEAR FINANCIAL • 429 SANTA MONICA BLVD • SANTA MONICA, CA. 90401

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

respond if stocks declined, 8 per cent said that they would sell, 54 per cent that they would "make no major changes," and 31 per cent that they would "buy more to take advantage of lower prices."

Another indication of investors' lengthening time horizon is the disproportionate growth of retirement accounts. In the mere six years between 1989 and 1995, Keoghs, IRAs, 401(k)s, and other plans rose 41 per cent as a portion of total family assets. Such accounts mature slowly and are subject to penalties for early withdrawal. Many employer-matched accounts require years of service before the employee can claim the company contributions as his own.

While no direct studies have isolated the effect of asset ownership on voting patterns, it stands to reason that its growth would benefit Republicans.

Financial sophistication is also increasing. The defined-contribution plans of the 1990s include multiple investment options for employees. Workers receive fund histories, prospectuses, statements. Workers whose companies make 401(k)s available choose whether to invest, how much to invest, and what strategy to pursue. And they are paying attention: the Hart/Nasdaq researchers report that 75 per cent of equity investors monitor stock prices monthly, 51 per cent weekly, and 18 per cent daily.

While no direct studies have isolated the effect of asset ownership on voting patterns, it stands to reason that its growth would benefit Republicans. Most obviously, it creates "Republican bracket creep": high-income voters trend Republican, and stockownership has swollen their ranks. But in other ways as well today's stockowners have the characteristics of Republican voters.

Over the last five congressional elections, Republicans have polled roughly 1.75 percentage points better among voters with a college degree than among the general electorate. This is the educational cohort whose stockownership grew most rapidly during the years immediately preceding the Republican takeover of Congress. According to the same study, male investors outnumber their female counterparts by 6 per cent—close to the average "gender gap" in the last four congressional elections.

Eighty-five per cent of investors in the Hart/Nasdaq survey were white. The *1995 Survey of Consumer Finance* recorded direct stockownership among only 5.5 per cent of non-white and Hispanic households. But black and Hispanic households owning retirement accounts increased twice as fast as white households owning such accounts from 1992 to 1995. It may be no coincidence that in the 1996 congressional elections, Republicans gained ten percentage points among black voters compared to 1992.

The marriage rate among stockholders, according to the NYSE's *Shareownership 1995*, is 79.4 per cent (compared to 60.9 per cent for the general adult population). The investor class thus tracks with another Republican-inclined constituency: married couples.

In sum, more and more wage-earners are becoming active, long-term members of a class whose profile matches that of GOP voters. Republicans stand only to gain from the emergence of this new class, but they must seize their advantage. Instead, Republicans vacillate between tactics that characterized them as a minority: congressional leaders have adopted incremental liberalism, while social conservatives pursue blue-collar discontent.

Patrick J. Buchanan made Wall Street versus Main Street the keynote of his presidential bid in 1996. He endorsed protective tariffs, restrictions on corporate downsizing, and limits on executive pay, and toyed with standard union boilerplate such as American-content mandates and legislation against strike-breakers. He denounced the sheltering of interest income, ridiculed the elimination of inheritance taxes on wealthy families, and demanded penalties on the "transnational corporations" whose appreciation was swelling Middle America's portfolios.

The "peasant revolt" rhetoric sounded a sour note in the party of growth and wealth: Buchanan fared poorly among high-income voters and those most concerned with taxes. But he also lost the "crossover" votes he sought: Bob Dole beat him among Republicans who had voted for Perot or Clinton in 1992, and among independents voting in Republican primaries. Christian conservatives deserted him as the campaign progressed.

The "Reagan Democrats" have changed since Buchanan served Richard Nixon; the blue-collar union vote has fallen 40 per cent as a share of the electorate since 1970. Stockowners now outnumber trade-unionists 3 to 1. Liberal social policy, particularly on abortion, continues to inspire discontent. But Clinton has not alienated these voters the way McGovern Democrats did.

NONETHELESS, soft-sell Buchananism is going around the social Right like a bad cold. In *Our Hopes and Dreams*, a book filled with sensible policy prescriptions, Family Research Council president Gary Bauer suggests—during a 25-year employment peak—that American jobs are being "undercut by slave or sweatshop labor halfway around the globe," and that "the free-trade mantra is being used to play American families for suckers." At a time when exports are driving the industrial renewal of America, Bauer laments, "Our system seems to tilt toward multinational corporations that don't even think of themselves as American companies any more."

The anti–Wall Street rhetoric of social conservatives should be re-evaluated in light of new demographic realities. The flood of new investors is characterized by very high percentages of married adults taking long-term responsibility for themselves, their homes, their children, and their parents. In profile, they look a lot like—Christian conservatives. Main Street and Wall Street are converging.

The growth wing of the GOP ought to be hospitable to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

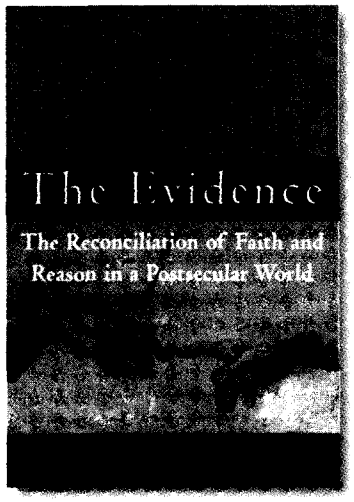
the rise of the worker-rentier, but it too has misidentified its potential constituency. The "empowerment" agenda developed by Jack Kemp, Newt Gingrich, and their disciples stressed the merits of capitalism for all segments of the population. But in practice it often meant special programs for urban Democratic machines hostile to limited government. Years of fantasies based on the moral logic of capitalism—extensions of the party "tent" to trade-unionists, to ethnic minorities, to the poor—molded a party leadership more eager to placate enemies than to empower friends.

It's time to start paying attention to new friends. There is no better, and perhaps no other, way to build a constituency for reducing taxes on investment—the most important supply-side goal right now—than by sheltering the investment vehicles of the working class. Republicans must participate vigorously in debates about retirement, education, health care, and home ownership; these issues are cannily exploited by Clinton, but they are what prompt people to acquire stock portfolios.

And therein lies the conservative opportunity. Consider how the growth of long-term investment has affected attitudes toward Social Security. Forty-one per cent of respondents in the 1997 Hart/Nasdaq study count "personal savings and investment" as their "primary source of retirement money." Only 4 per cent so ranked Social Security—down from 15 per cent in a 1990 survey.

President Clinton uses policies to affect political demographics all the time: opening borders, cutting military personnel, financing new college students. Republicans should follow suit, devising policies that will accelerate the transformation of wage-earners into capitalists—i.e., policies that will increase both the width (raw numbers) and depth (proportion of earnings derived from investment) of the worker-rentier class. This would be class warfare of a new sort—class warfare for the benefit of the economy and the GOP. □

As scientists probe deeper into eternal mysteries they are uncovering the face of God. This groundbreaking book shows you how.



"Patrick Glynn has written a thoughtful and provocative book about new scientific evidence for the existence of God and the inability of rationalism to deal with ultimate questions." —**Robert Bork**

"Elegantly written and absorbing." —***National Review***

"Underlying Mr. Glynn's analyses is one crucial point, which is that Western intellectual life is undergoing a huge shift: It is finding room for God." —***Wall Street Journal***

"Glynn's arguments for the existence of God put the burden of disproof on those intellectuals who think that the question has long since been settled." —**Andrew Greeley**

"A gripping tale, intellectually stimulating, provocative, and probably premonitory." —**Michael Novak**

"This book is at the same time a personal witness of a spiritual odyssey and an informative overview of the difficult relationship between religion and science. It will challenge believers and nonbelievers." —**Hans Küng**

AVAILABLE AT BOOKSTORES
or Call 1-800-632-8676

FORUM • An Imprint of Prima Publishing
www.primapublishing.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Breaking the Code

Neither a flat tax nor a sales tax will happen. Here's how Republicans could get serious.

RAMESH PONNURU

CONSERVATIVES have reached an impasse on tax policy. Congressional Republicans have not attempted to repeal the tax increases of 1990 and 1993, nor even seriously challenged the conventional wisdom that attributes the Clinton "boom" to those increases. The income-tax system produced by the 1986 tax-reform, with its top rate of 28 per cent, is a distant memory.

The tried-and-true formula of across-the-board reductions in tax rates—implemented by Reagan in 1981 with the Kemp–Roth bill and, on a smaller stage and in less purist fashion, Christine Todd Whitman in 1994—seems, for the time being anyway, to be a political non-starter, tainted by its association with the Dole campaign.

Many conservatives seem to have concluded from the failure of Reagan's tax-rate cuts to endure that sweeping tax reform must come before tax cuts. In addition, they believe they can harness populist anger against the complexity and unfairness of the tax code to achieve supply-side goals. These goals include, in order of importance: ending the double taxation of savings and investment; replacing the progressive tax-rate structure with one rate; and trading the tax code's panoply of deductions, credits, and other breaks for lower marginal tax rates. Reformers also want to cut average tax rates, both as an end in itself and to build popular support.

But the cause of sweeping tax reform is stalled, and neither the Democrats' control of the White House nor the Republicans' tenuous control of the House nor the attacks on Steve Forbes from other Republicans in 1996 nor even the divisions among reformers themselves fully explain why. Plenty of Republicans, and not just moderate-to-liberal ones, worry that a flat tax or a national sales tax could be a political disaster.

The chief substantive problem with both proposals is that they would expand the constituency for liberalism. A national sales tax would spread individuals' tax burden over so many transactions that they would cease to register the burden. And the flat taxes offered by Steve Forbes and Dick Armey would take millions of voters off the income-tax rolls through generous exemptions, thus expanding the ranks of people who can vote for big government at no obvious cost to themselves. This feature of the flat tax is designed, of course, to defuse the "fairness issue."

It won't. For eight years—ever since then-Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell single-handedly sank President Bush's proposed capital-gains tax cut—tax "fairness" has spooked Republicans. Ever since Republicans took control of Congress they have made tax policy with nervous glances toward the tax-distribution tables. Hence the income ceilings on the child tax credit and IRA expansion that Congress passed last year. But if they won't take the fairness issue head-on, they're hardly going to eliminate the progressive rate structure entirely.

The tax reformers ignore such political obstacles because, fundamentally, their project is anti-political. In their heart of hearts, reformers would like to have a bunch of free-market economists sit around a table, design the ideal tax code, and ram it through the political system. That's why most of them refuse to work with Rep. Dick Gephardt (D., Mo.), even though most of the provisions of his reform plan move in the right direction. At a meeting in 1996, after a senator had proposed a compromise, one grim activist exclaimed, "Our goal should be perfection!" But that's not the way the system works, or should work.

Political realities have forced reformers to wise up of late. But even the most sophisticated strategies for reform depend on Republicans winning the Presidency, a filibuster-proof majority in the Senate, and a large margin in the House. *Then* they'll be able to ram something through. Until then, the thinking goes, Republicans should enact some small tax cuts—repeal the estate tax, end the marriage penalty—but mainly avoid mucking up the tax code. Meanwhile, reformers will take their case to the American people.

This isn't a strategy, it's a fantasy. Neither the small tax cuts nor the proselytizing is likely to yield the requisite Republican realignment. And with a consolidated majority, Republicans might be even more averse to risk than now. Politicians can gloss over difficult details on the stump. But actual legislation would pit the abstract goal of tax simplification against voters' concrete interest in various deductions. Republicans did something similar in 1995, pitting the abstract goal of a balanced budget against voters' concrete interest in Medicare benefits. They do not seem eager for a reprise.

AS A result of the conflicting pressures from reform activists and the realities of the political system, Republican tax policy has oscillated wildly between interest-group pandering and pure abstraction. The flat tax could become what the commitment to a Balanced Budget Amendment was for years: boilerplate that Republicans insert in their speeches without ever delivering; or, worse, an excuse for not enacting achievable cuts. In 1996, some conservative senators proposed making the GOP's tax cuts temporary; after all, we would have systematic reform in a few years. In 1997, the prospect of future reform became a reason not to worry about making the code worse in the meantime.

The American people deserve tax cuts *now*. In their absence, the economy is performing below its potential.

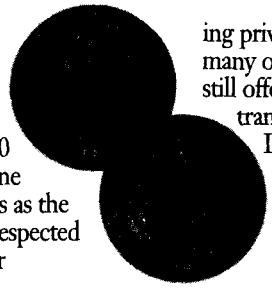
Mr. Ponnuru is NR's national reporter.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE PERFECT GOLD INVESTMENT

There hasn't been a better time to buy gold. And now you can get private, historic world gold pieces...at about the same price as common bullion coins!

There is nothing in human experience more respected as a store of wealth than gold. And over the last 500 years of modern history one gold coin has led all others as the most widely recognized, respected and valued in every corner of the world.



The British Sovereign can now be acquired for about the same cost as comparable gold bullion coins.

It is the gold Sovereign: the only coin to be minted on five continents, the gold piece that was the backbone of the British Empire for more than two centuries.

In short, the Sovereign offers investors a powerful array of advantages that is clearly unmatched by any other gold coin option available today. They include privacy, protection from confiscation, liquidity, affordability, portability, historic significance, collectibility and the potential profit over and above any gains in the price of gold.

Worldwide Recognition And Liquidity

For more than a century, the intelligence community has used Sovereigns as emergency money for agents operating in every nation — as popularized by Ian Fleming in his James Bond novels.

Allied air crews in World War II carried Sovereigns as a standard part of their survival kits, in case they were shot behind enemy lines. Even the American government recognizes the perceived value of Sovereigns: During Desert Storm, American pilots carried these historic gold coins as their emergency money, because Sovereigns are more widely known and valued in the Middle East than any other gold coin, new or old.

Absolute Privacy

If you value your privacy — an important asset in today's world — then the British Sovereign could prove to be one of your most important investment tools.

You see, according to Internal Revenue Service Revenue Procedure 92-103, most gold coins or bars must be reported on Form 1099-B when sold. There is nothing private about that. However, unlike many other gold bullion coins, Sovereigns still offer you absolute *privacy* in your transaction. Under current tax law and IRS regulation interpretations, *there are no reporting requirements whatsoever when you buy or sell British Sovereign gold pieces.*

Never Subject to Confiscation

As an historic, collectible gold coin, the Sovereign boasts another very important advantage over other gold bullion coins: It is not subject to any gold confiscation law passed in U.S. history, due to its status as a collector piece.

The infamous Executive Order 6102, issued by Franklin Roosevelt on April 5, 1933, confiscated the gold holdings of American citizens. But Section 2(b) of this order specifically excluded collector coins.

About The Same Cost As Bullion

Each 22-karat British Sovereign contains the equivalent of .2354 troy ounces of pure gold, and you can get them for as low as 18% above their gold value from Jefferson Coin & Bullion.

This compares favorably with the premium over gold value for a 1/4-ounce American Eagle, Maple Leaf or Australian Nugget bullion coin.

A Unique Source Of Exceptional Sovereigns

There is a compelling argument to be made that old British Sovereigns are the finest physical gold bullion investment available. No other option offers the same degree of privacy, protection from confiscation, affordability, liquidity and upside potential. (Although the British Royal Mint began minting limited edition Sovereigns once again in 1957, investors should only purchase the historic old gold pieces struck in 1932 and earlier.)

But recognizing this fact is only part of the battle. An investor still must find quality coins at fair prices.

This problem was recently solved when we located two sources for very high quality Sovereigns from Europe. As a result, we can offer top quality Sovereigns at prices that will be hard to beat. In fact, we can offer limited quantities of higher grade Brilliant Uncirculated British Sovereigns — each carefully selected for quality and eye-appeal by our highly qualified numismatic staff — for only a dollar more than lower grade *circulated* coins.

Investors should act quickly for two reasons:

First, this is an excellent opportunity to own quality gold near a cyclical low in both price and premium.

Second, the supply of our uncirculated British Sovereigns is limited. While lower grade circulated specimens should continue to be available, the Brilliant Uncirculated examples may shortly prove much more difficult to acquire.

For these reasons, we strongly urge immediate purchase of Brilliant Uncirculated Sovereigns. The prices below will change with fluctuations in the price of gold.

If you want solid gold security and profit potential that bullion can't match, you should call Jefferson Coin & Bullion at **(800-593-2584)** immediately.

Price Indications

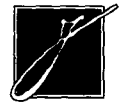
☎ Call 800-593-2584 ☎
For current pricing and availability.

British Sovereigns

Brilliant Uncirculated Condition. Minted 1902 to 1932, dates our choice, .916 fine gold, .2354 troy ounce total gold weight.

250 coins or more	$84.00 each
100 to 249 coins	$85.00 each
10 to 99 coins	$86.00 each
5 to 9 coins	$87.00 each

Note: Prices will change with fluctuations in the gold price. Prices are based on $300/ounce spot gold. Due to their low premium above melt value, no credit card orders can be accepted on sales of these coins. Allow two to six weeks for delivery. Call for current prices and availability on other classic world gold pieces, as well as a full selection of competitively priced modern bullion and rare U.S. gold coins.



Jefferson Coin & Bullion, Inc.
2400 Jefferson Hwy • Suite 600
Jefferson, LA 70121
America's Leading Coin Firm™

Visit our website at www.jeffinc.com

Jefferson Coin & Bullion is the only rare coin firm owned and operated by James U. Blanchard III, publisher of *Gold Newsletter* and a leading advocate of investor rights for more than 25 years.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

And a disproportionate amount of economic growth is going into bigger government. This phenomenon is an inevitable feature of a conventional progressive rate structure: as incomes rise, more people move into higher tax brackets. Supply-siders Lawrence Kudlow and Stephen Moore have dubbed the phenomenon "real-income bracket creep." Bill Clinton is using it, along with tax refunds and targeted tax breaks, to build a majority willing to raise other people's taxes—the same result into which flat-taxers might stumble.

Neither the small tax cuts nor the proselytizing is likely to yield the requisite Republican realignment.

There is a way out. Republicans can push—now, in 1998—for tax cuts that advance the goal of tax reform and build the constituency for further reform, while avoiding the political traps outlined above. Those tax cuts would be designed to exploit and accelerate the most important favorable trend in political demographics: the development of the first large class of worker-stockholders in history (see "Stock Populi"). So, for instance, Congress could enact a massive expansion of IRAs, as proposed by Joint Economic Committee chairman Jim Saxton (R., N.J.), raising contribution limits and easing restrictions on the permissable uses of accumulated balances. Even better, they could create Individual Investment Accounts (IIAs) with no limits or restrictions. (Sen. John Breaux [D., La.] and Rep. Jim McCrery [R., La.] have introduced a bill.) But almost any policy that expanded investment options, or encouraged their use, would serve the purpose.

This option has at least seven political advantages.

1. It would accelerate the growth of the investing class. It stands to reason that people who invest more in the markets will have more free-market proclivities in general. They will certainly be less dependent on the state, and particularly on Social Security. And they will be more amenable to reforms of that program or of the tax code. Indeed, they are likely to demand them.

2. It provides what tax reform has so far lacked: a plausible incremental strategy. If full-scale tax reform is for economic conservatives what the Human Life Amendment has been for social conservatives, expanded IRAs are the equivalent of a ban on partial-birth abortions: an attainable first step that lays the groundwork for further progress. Congress could let IRAs be used to finance not just retirement but also emergency medical care, education, home purchases, etc.—eliminating the multiple taxation of savings for most of the purposes for which people actually save. IIAs would totally eliminate such multiple taxation. Either expanded IRAs or IIAs would significantly flatten tax rates: the rich save more, and the progressive system would have less reach.

3. IIAs can themselves be achieved incrementally. If conservatives don't get everything they want, they can come back for more later. Every year they can raise the contribution limits further. Every year they can expand the purposes for which tax-free saving is allowed.

4. The IIA option gives Republicans a conservative social policy as an alternative to Bill Clinton's, and a conservative labor policy superior to Pat Buchanan's or Dick Gephardt's. Clinton wants to help families pay for health care or college? Fine. Let's make saving for those purposes tax-free. That wouldn't set back reform like the typical Republican alternative, selective tax credits. And instead of restricting trade, immigration, and freedom of contract, the IIA option would expand the benefits available to workers in a free market. Not bad for a party founded on the principles of free men and free labor.

5. It would close the rift over tax policy between economic and social conservatives. The arguments between the two sides over per-child tax credits have flown back and forth for more than three years with no end in sight. Here's a policy that supply-siders should like and that offers more to social conservatives than any tax credit. Some proponents of the child credit, such as Sen. Dan Coats (R., Ind.) and anti-tax activist Grover Norquist, regarded it as a backdoor way to school choice. Why not explicitly exempt savings for parochial schools—and private schools, and home schools—from taxation?

6. IIAs can accommodate Washington's superstitions about debt. Republicans have shied away from tax cuts because of their alleged short-term revenue effects. Luckily, IIAs can be "front-loaded" so that the deposit is taxed but not the withdrawal. That way, any projected revenue "loss" can be deferred into the future, which is Never-Neverland so far as Washington is concerned.

7. It would *not* create a large class of people with unwholesome enthusiasms for progressive taxation.

The chief political disadvantage of the IIA option is that it would, indeed, be "regressive." As noted earlier, the rich save more. But nobody outside Washington or New York really cares about regressivity per se—so long as the rich are still seen to pay a higher rate and nobody less affluent faces a tax increase.

And the regressivity could be offset by pairing any IRA expansion with a proposal that directly addresses "real-income bracket creep." Right now the 28 per cent tax rate kicks in at $23,500 for singles and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Once upon a time...

money was *gold*.

Later...

money was *paper*. *backed by gold*.

Now...

money is just *paper*.

Some advocates of electronic currency want to take away the paper.

This is clearly a step in the *wrong* direction!

www.e-gold.com

Gold & Silver Reserve, Inc.
1013 Centre Road
Suite 350
Wilmington, DE 19805
USA

Tel: (800) 909-6590
Fax: (302) 994-4750
email: admin@e-gold.com

www.e-gold.com

100% gold for Internet transactions
user-friendly redemption / transparent auditing / convenient / secure

Forbes (Feb. 9, 1998, p.40) reports that Internet retail commerce is expected to be as high as **US$ 10 billion** by the year 2000! **59%** of respondents *already* find it **easier** to shop on the Internet that through catalogs or in stores! And **49%** cited security as their main concern!

Online commerce is risky enough without worrying about **fluctuating exchange rates**, international **monetary policies**, and strangers having **access to your account**.

With e-gold™, *you* **push** *your money to the recipient*; he or she **cannot pull** your money out of your password-protected account.

Every milligram of e-gold™ is backed by **gold coins and bullion bars** in the custody of Gold & Silver Reserve, Inc, and not derivatives such as options, futures, or forward contracts.

When you are ready for this borderless new world of online commerce, **we'll be here.**

e-gold™

1) 100% backed by physical gold
2) fungible and divisible - to 0.0001 oz
3) automated multi-currency conversions
4) payments clear in less than 10 seconds
5) secure SSL technology
6) transparent - audit our reserves online
7) redemption guaranteed and convenient
8) no minimum transaction size
9) more detail than other systems
10) Y2K compliant

Open your e-gold™ account today, by visiting http://www.e-gold.com on the World Wide Web.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

$42,350 for couples; why not expand the 15 per cent bracket to include singles making up to $35,000 and couples making up to $70,000? Sen. Paul Coverdell (R., Ga.) and Reps. John Thune (R., S.D.) and Jennifer Dunn (R., Wash.) are championing this proposal, first floated by Kudlow and Moore in *NR* ("Raise the Roof," Jan. 26). It would be a progressive and pro-growth tax cut. It would eliminate the "marriage penalty" for millions of households without penalizing homemakers or making the tax code more complex (as some proposed fixes would). And it would benefit more than 29 million taxpayers, many of them Reagan Democrats whom the GOP has lost in the last two presidential elections.

Successful political movements create the conditions for their own success. Tax reformers can't do that with their existing strategy. To change course now is not to abandon principle; it is to take principle so seriously as to plot how to put it into practice. If tax reformers don't, they have only years of wasted effort ahead of them. □

Bull Market

The Clinton Administration may boast– but today's economy is nothing to brag about.

ALAN REYNOLDS

ACCORDING to the White House, we have "the strongest economy in a generation." The President's "economic strategy," they say, "is working for America's families." For proof, the Administration proudly boasts of gains since 1993, notably "an increase in family income of nearly $2,200."

Sounds impressive, but is it? Median family income did rise from $40,131 in 1993 to $42,300 in 1996. But recall that 1993 was the year in which the President added two new tax brackets for couples earning more than $140,000 (the "millionaire's surtax" of campaign lore), began taxing 85 per cent of Social Security benefits of retirees who made the mistake of working or having saved, and so on. And it just so happens that 1993 was also the year in which median family income was the lowest it had been since 1985.

As a matter of fact, even that 1996 income figure of $42,300 was nearly $1,000 lower than it had been back in 1989—a time President Clinton likes to refer to as "the failed experiment with trickle-down economics." Even in 1987—a decade ago—median family income was higher than it was in 1996. So, the "increase in family income" that the Administration is bragging about turns out to have been no increase at all—for nine years! Little wonder the White House uses 1993 (the first year of Clinton's term), rather than the 1980s, as its benchmark.

What about economic growth? If the Administration hits its targets for 1998 and 1999, real GDP growth will have averaged 2.6 per cent from 1993 to 1999. Scarcely the strongest in a generation. From 1983 to 1989, economic growth averaged 4 per cent a year.

If the Administration hits its targets, growth of real GDP will have averaged just 2.6 per cent from 1993 to 1999.

What about those "nearly 15 million more jobs" that the President himself has "created"? More than 1 million of that was simply a statistical fluke, due to revised survey methods in 1994. Adjust for that, and job growth averaged 1.65 per cent a year since 1993. In 1983–89, by contrast, employment grew by 2.4 per cent a year. An equally important difference is that the number of eager job seekers grew by nearly 1.6 per cent a year in the Eighties. The only reason unemployment has fallen so fast since 1993 is that labor-force growth slowed to only 1.1 per cent a year. If it had continued to grow by 1.6 per cent a year, while jobs grew as slowly as they have since 1993, the unemployment rate would have gone up, not down.

One source of income really has risen impressively. Transfer payments accounted for more than 16.4 per cent of personal income by 1996, up from less than 14 per cent in the late Eighties. Thus, President Clinton's economic strategy does deserve considerable credit for low unemployment: Higher tax rates for working, and more transfer payments for not working, have kept a lot of people out of the job market. This is precisely why nobody, including the President's own economic team, thinks the economy can grow much faster than 2 per cent in the future. The government has done such a fine job of punishing work and rewarding indolence that the economy is now running short of willing and able workers.

The latest White House political spin is to claim that the relatively better news in 1997, particularly the jump in tax revenues, was due to a higher tax rate imposed on salaries back in 1993. Yet revenues from the personal income tax amounted to only 8 per cent of GDP from 1993 to 1995, down from 8.2 in 1988–90, when the highest tax rate was 28 per cent. We have to look elsewhere for the sudden revenue windfall of 1997.

Supply-side economists, myself included, have argued for years that lowering the tax rate on capital gains would give a big boost to tax receipts, for a while. The odds of getting

Mr. Reynolds is director of economic research at the Hudson Institute, and president of his own consulting firm, Alan Reynolds Associates (www.areynolds.com).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a higher after-tax return would be capitalized in higher prices for stocks and bonds—even in 1996, before tax change was a sure thing. Small firms would find it easier to raise capital through initial public offerings, thus reducing their dependence on tax-deductible debt. Investors who were locked into old investments, reluctant to sell because of the tax, would be happy to realize gains and pay a lower tax. For all these reasons, revenues from both corporate and personal income taxes should have jumped in 1996 on the expectation that a lower capital-gains tax was about to be enacted and jumped even more when the probability became a certainty. This is exactly what happened.

Curiously, prominent Republicans have been complaining about this windfall of tax receipts. Measured as a percentage of GDP, they gripe, revenues are at a record high. But that complaint leaves Democrats free to credit the 1997 windfall to higher tax rates on incomes, rather than to lower tax rates on capital gains. It also leaves everyone under the illusion that the "unexpected" windfall is permanent, something that will generate budget surpluses into the distant future.

Aside from the windfall spurt from a lower capital gains tax, the only mystery about the budget deficit is why the CBO, in 1991–93, made such absurdly exaggerated estimates of future deficits. Deficits always fall as the economy pulls out of recession. This time, there were the added advantages of slashing defense by about $150 billion a year, ending payments of more than $60 billion a year to S&L depositors, and benefiting from lower inflation in medical costs and interest expense.

Because inflation came down so sharply in 1996–97, interest rates also came down, raising profits and stock prices, and therefore generating a lot of federal revenue from taxes on corporate profits and capital gains. Stock prices almost always rise with falling interest rates, partly because companies can then pay creditors less, raising profits. And stock prices are higher relative to earnings when interest rates are low.

While the reduction of inflation

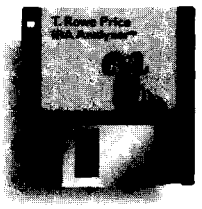
NEW YEAR. NEW RULES.

Have you analyzed all your new IRA options?

Let the T. Rowe Price IRA Analyzer™ show you how. The new T. Rowe Price IRA Analyzer software provides you with a detailed description of the new IRA rules in plain, straightforward language. This sophisticated tool is easy to use and will help you assess:

- How much you are eligible to contribute to each type of IRA;
- Whether it would be more beneficial to make future contributions to a Roth IRA or a traditional IRA;
- If you should convert your existing IRA to the Roth IRA.

Our Analyzer does it all on your PC—making your analysis more accurate and rapid. The software includes advanced features that will calculate your maximum eligible contributions to each type of IRA, incorporate the impact of minimum required distributions at age 70½, and allow for full or partial conversions to the Roth IRA.



Order your IRA Analyzer today for only $9.95, and start taking advantage of the new IRA rules. Call:

1-800-332-6407

Visit our Web site for free interactive IRA worksheets.
www.troweprice.com/newira/

Software available on both CD and diskette. Available for PCs only.

Invest With Confidence®
T.RowePrice

To run the T. Rowe Price IRA Analyzer, you need an IBM®-compatible PC running Windows® 3.1 or above. A 486 processor or greater is recommended. You also need 4 MB free space and 8 MB of RAM. A VGA monitor with 256-color or better video card is required.
T. Rowe Price is a registered trademark of T. Rowe Price Associates, Inc., and all other trademarks are property of their respective owners.
T. Rowe Price Investment Services, Inc.

IRA041147

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

brought the deficit down, Clinton is wrong when he argues that the drop in the deficit brought interest rates and inflation down. If interest rates really depend on budget deficits, why did interest rates on 30-year bonds fall from 13.5 per cent in 1981 (when the deficit was small) to 6.6 per cent in 1993 (when the deficit was huge)? And why are interest rates so low today in Japan and Germany, where budget deficits are large?

It also makes no sense to give credit for lower worldwide inflation to the U.S. budget. Inflation in 1995–97 was about a percentage point lower in Germany than it was in the U.S., and close to zero in Japan, despite the fact that Germany and Japan had large budget deficits. It is the Fed that must get most of the credit for low inflation, although other central banks played a part too (making disinflation easier here). Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin also deserves applause for sticking to his "a strong dollar is good for America" policy, so far. Most of his predecessors deliberately "talked the dollar down" to gain trade advantages (in 1971, 1979, 1987, and 1994), producing more inflation within a year or two.

The U.S. economy is far too energetic to have been derailed by the 1993 tax blunders. Yet U.S. economic performance since 1993 has been far less impressive than liars and fools have been saying.

The economy is now bumping up against supply-side constraints and not enough savings; too many spouses and men in their late fifties dropping out of the labor force. Yet Congress is paying little attention even to restoring the pre-1993 incentives to work and save, preferring to rest on vague allusions to grandiose tax-reform plans for the distant future. The trade deficit, which "twin deficits" theorists promised would disappear with a balanced budget, will soon be rising to a point where it may provoke suicidal political reactions (protectionism or devaluation or both). We may muddle through. But a year from now, nobody will be talking about a "booming" economy or stock market. □

Four More Years

Who's responsible for the economy? Don't look to the Oval Office; look to the Fed.

LAWRENCE KUDLOW

IN America's new information economy, where more than 125 million people are invested in the stock market, Alan Greenspan is the real President. It is Greenspan who is responsible for the balanced budget, low unemployment, near-zero inflation, the strong dollar, and our prosperity.

The Monica Lewinsky affair may rate a few off-color jokes, but Wall Street trading floors stop dead in their tracks when C-SPAN coverage shows Greenspan telling Congress about foreign net capital inflows, the moral hazard of IMF lending, or the mismeasurement of the consumer price index. Recent polls show President Clinton's approval to be around 70 per cent, but this pales in comparison to Greenspan's favorable rating of 97 per cent in a Louis Harris survey of 400 senior executives.

Greenspan's favorable rating is 97 per cent in a Louis Harris survey of 400 senior executives.

Does the Fed chairman deserve the adulation? Nobelist Milton Friedman recently introduced Greenspan to a Stanford audience by calling his performance "better than any prior Fed chairman." Supply-side economist Robert Mundell, one of the architects of Reaganomics, calls Greenspan "the greatest Fed chairman we have ever had." On the other side of the political spectrum, arch-Keynesian Yalie James Tobin, also a Nobel Prize winner, gives Greenspan an "A": "His bark has been worse than his bite. He rejected mechanical monetarism by letting the economy advance. I am pleased with the results."

The results speak for themselves. During the current six-year cyclical recovery, inflation has run just over 2 per cent. The S&P 500 during this period has advanced almost 150 per cent. The current Asian crisis will test the chairman's mettle once again, but if recent Greenspanian history is any guide the U.S. economy will survive intact. How has he done it?

During the credit crunch of 1989–92 Greenspan repaired confidence in the banking system by tightening lending practices and raising capital-adequacy standards, but at the same time injected plenty of high-powered cash to ensure economic recovery. In 1990–91 he steadfastly refused to inflate the money supply to accommodate the temporary oil-price hike from the Persian Gulf war, thereby underscoring his commitment to price stability despite repeated carping from the Bush Administration.

Come January 1993, Greenspan was sitting between Tipper Gore and Hillary Clinton during the new President's State of the Union address. Was he sacrificing Fed independence? Hardly. Money was loose at that point, with rising gold and commodity prices starting to signal increased inflation risk. Even after the high-tax budget deal was completed—supposedly ensuring lower interest rates—Greenspan warned President Clinton and Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin that interest rates would have to rise to maintain price stability.

Mr. Kudlow, an NR *contributing editor, is chief economist at American Skandia Marketing.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sure enough, Greenspan raised the overnight federal-funds rate half a dozen times in 1994 in order to "preempt" inflation pressures. The economy slowed in 1995, but there was no contraction. Devotees of the Phillips Curve warned that a 4.7 per cent unemployment rate was "too low" to sustain low inflation. But, as interest rates declined and economic growth increased during the next two years, the inflation rate dropped to 1.8 per cent. Call it "The Greenspan Standard."

Conservatives who applaud his success on price stability have nonetheless been cross with Greenspan over his support for IMF bailout packages for Mexico in 1994 and East Asia this winter. How, they ask, can a free-market follower of Ayn Rand support the IMF's high-cost safety net? But for the Fed chairman to take on both the U.S. Treasury and the IMF would be a bridge too far. As it stands, the Reagan-appointed Greenspan has developed an *entente cordiale* with the Clinton Administration that has enhanced both the independence and the credibility of the central bank.

So much so that many in Washington believe Greenspan will be appointed to an unprecedented fourth term in June 2000. Mr. Greenspan, who will be 72 years old on March 6, is in good physical condition. He plays tennis three or four times a week on the Fed's rooftop court during the warmer months, according to Fed insiders, and plays indoors two or three times a week during the winter.

A post-Greenspan Fed would be fraught with uncertainty, since the Chairman has refused to submit to inflation-targeting rules proposed by Sen. Connie Mack (R., Fla.) and Rep. Jim Saxton (R., N.J.) of the Joint Economic Committee. With four Clinton appointees currently at the Federal Reserve, the complexion of the Board has changed significantly from the days when it was dominated by hard-money Reagan appointees.

Gold may be the mother of all inflation barometers, but the best Fed-watching indicator in the years ahead could well be Mr. Greenspan's EKG. □

100% NO LOAD

HIGH-YIELD
5-STAR PERFORMANCE

T. Rowe Price Tax-Free High Yield Fund offers investors high current income *free of federal taxes** and the highest risk-adjusted performance rating (**five stars**—★★★★★) from Morningstar.** This rating indicates the fund's performance was in the top 10% among the 1,494; 720; and 337 funds in the muni bond investment category for the 3-, 5-, and 10-year periods ending 12/31/97. Of course, yields and share price will vary as interest rates change. $2,500 minimum. **No sales charges.**

Call 24 hours for a free report and prospectus
1-800-401-4764
www.troweprice.com

Invest With Confidence®
T.RowePrice

*Some income may be subject to state and local taxes and the federal alternative minimum tax. **Morningstar proprietary ratings reflect historical risk-adjusted performance through 12/31/97. These ratings, which are subject to change monthly, are calculated from the fund's 3- and 5-year average annual returns in excess of 90-day Treasury bill returns with appropriate fee adjustments and a risk factor that reflects the fund performance below 90-day Treasury bill returns. The fund's 3-, 5-, and 10-year ratings are all 5 stars. Past performance cannot guarantee future results. Read the prospectus carefully before investing. T. Rowe Price Investment Services, Inc., Distributor. TFH041149

GOLD
YOUR ECONOMIC INSURANCE POLICY™

Learn the ins and outs of buying, selling and trading Gold and Rare Gold Coins in our new FREE 1998 Investors Guide and FREE Video. Discover why informed investors are hedging their Portfolio by diversifying into this time-proven, age-old investment.

Discover:
- How and Why Wall Street pushes risky Derivatives in lieu of Gold.
- Which Gold Investments are appreciating in a declining Gold Market.
- How deflation can affect Gold & what impact deflation had on Gold during the great depression.
- Protection against International Financial Market Uncertainty.
- Portfolio volatility insurance.
- Complete asset protection and privacy.
- Tax advantages.
- I.R.A Qualified plans.

toll free . . .
• FREE • 1-800-741-4246
...with no obligation whatsoever.

Video & Book About Gold

U.S. Coin Exchange INCORPORATED
Worldwide Leaders in the Gold Financial Markets

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(Continued from page 35)

under ruthless attack from USTL, which insists on a three-term rule. "They're absolutely inflexible," complains Cleta Mitchell. "No good deed goes unpunished."

THE term-limits movement emerged out of the frustration many voters felt in the early 1990s with a Congress of seemingly permanent incumbents. Its first major success came in 1990 when California passed Proposition 140. By 1995, 20 other states had approved their own initiatives. The courts have voided the federal portions of these laws, but not the sections applying to state officials. Thousands of municipalities, including eight of the country's ten biggest cities, also have limited the terms of their officeholders. These accomplishments represent the main legacy of the term-limits movement, at least so far.

It's the failure to enact term limits on the federal level that has exposed a potentially fatal rift in the conservative–libertarian coalition fighting for them. Both groups have viewed term limits as a way to slow the growth of government. Conservatives, however, generally have seen term limits as a tool to help Republicans gain an edge in Congress. Libertarians, on the other hand, have tended to think that term limits themselves will have a direct and positive effect on officeholders.

With the GOP assuming control of Congress following the 1994 elections —undoubtedly aided by term limits inspiring early retirements and energizing the grassroots—half of the coalition accomplished its chief goal. "They have been passed almost everywhere they can be easily passed. You might want to call them a victim of their own success," says Peter Roff of GOPAC.

Libertarians, however, aren't giving up. All the movement's remaining major figures have strong libertarian credentials. USTL president Howard Rich was involved in Ed Clark's 1980 presidential bid on the Libertarian Party ticket. Cato Institute president Ed Crane sits on USTL's board of directors. ALT president O'Keefe was on Cato's board for several years. Jacob is a former national field coordinator for the Libertarian Party who served nearly six months in a federal prison in 1985 for refusing to sign his draft registration card.

The question now is whether USTL and ALT are working at cross purposes with their original goal of limiting government. "We're a single-issue organization," explains Jacob. "Our job is not to elect anybody with a particular point of view, but to elect citizen legislators who agree to limit the number of terms they will serve in office."

It remains to be seen what effect this will have on the race between Tom Bordonaro, who wants to abolish the Internal Revenue Service, and Lois Capps, who wants to expand government-run health care. Bordonaro successfully weathered USTL and ALT's negative advertising in January. If he is defeated in March, it will be partly at the hands of a movement whose leadership has arguably just been in Washington too long. □

Dirty Joke

Since August, when South Park *premiered on cable TV's* Comedy Central, *our national IQ has dropped a few points.*

DAVID KLINGHOFFER

WARNING: There's no way to write about the cartoon series *South Park* without alluding to things that would make any normal person queasy: flatulence, flatulence that causes flames to burst from a character's rear end, an anal probe, more flatulence, a talking mound of excrement, explosive diarrhea, plus from the third-grade protagonists, unrelenting vulgar language that can't be reprinted in *NR*. Such stuff is the very point of this, the hottest show on television.

"Hottest" doesn't mean "most watched." But the 4.5 million souls who clicked on to the Christmas special are nothing to sneeze at (31.3 million typically watch *Seinfeld*), and from a marketing viewpoint *South Park* is a weighty phenomenon. Since it premiered in August, fans have bought $30 million worth of *South Park* T-shirts alone, along with quantities of refrigerator magnets, greeting cards, calendars, and bumper stickers. You see the T-shirts on sale everywhere in Manhattan.

Nor does "hottest" mean "best," since *South Park* is just a more obscene knock-off of *Beavis and Butt-head* mated with a much less funny knock-off of *The Simpsons*, the best show on television. (Though *South Park*'s Valentine's Day special, with many smirking references to lesbianism, had moments as funny as anything on *The Simpsons*.) What it means is that, God help us, *South Park* has managed to generate excitement among TV viewers like nothing since the early days of *Beavis and Butt-head* and *The Simpsons*. Recently it was on the covers of *Rolling Stone* and *Spin* magazines simultaneously.

Thought up by a couple of twentysomethings, Trey Parker and Matt Stone, the show recounts the adventures of four cute little boys. The setting is perpetually snowed-in South Park, Colorado. Artistically speaking, paper cutouts of kids bundled in parkas have been scanned onto computers; the images are then moved across a static background for a naïve look that's actually charming.

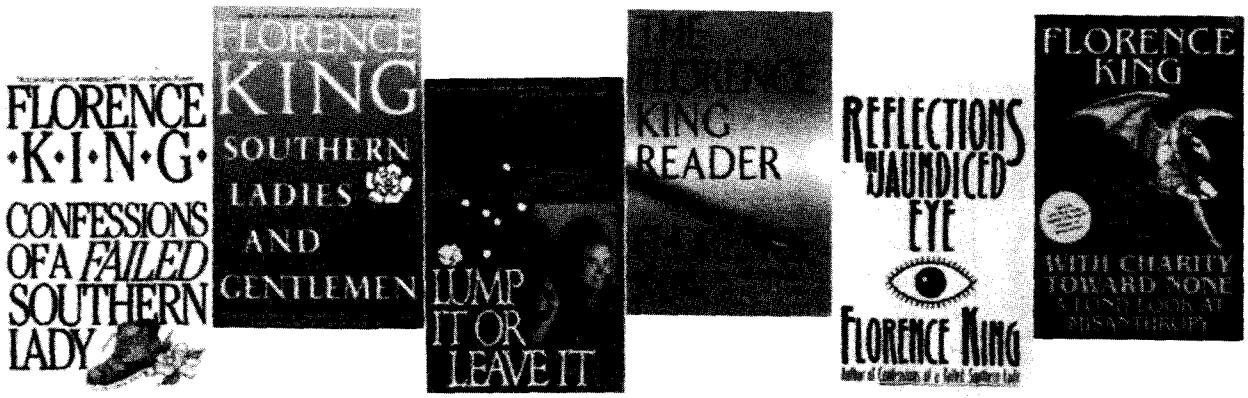
In one episode, the fat kid, Cartman, is abducted by space aliens, who perform an anal probe on him. At the climax, an eighty-foot radar dish emerges from his rear orifice and beams a signal to flying saucers.

In another, the mother of Cartman's buddy Kyle is offended by a TV cartoon show that has won the devotion of all the kids in South Park. This idea was swiped from the cartoon-within-a-cartoon on *The Simpsons*, "Itchy & Scratchy," except on "Terrance & Phillip" the characters do nothing but break wind or talk about breaking wind. Kyle's mom leads a protest outside the headquarters of the cable channel that produces the cartoon—Cartoon Central, a reference to Comedy Central, the TV home of *South Park*. The protest succeeds when an epidemic of explosive diarrhea among the protestors overwhelms the portable toi-

Mr. Klinghoffer is NR*'s literary editor.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ALL THE KING'S BOOKS



She's America's Misanthrope. She's the Queen of Spleen. She's Florence King. Now Get This Curmudgeon's Classic Books—Direct from *National Review.*

Confessions of a Failed Southern Lady The unrivaled account of growing up in an eccentric Southern family (read it and you'll know why Little Florence would have been beloved by even W. C. Fields). Hailed as one of the best memoirs ever written, and rightly so: this true tale of Granny's gone-awry attempt to raise Florence as a Perfect Southern Lady overflows with wit, gusto, bawdiness, and flat-out unsurpassed writing. This peek into the rearing of America's reigning misanthrope is a must for any King fan, and anyone who enjoys an uproarious read. "A stunning book, a masterpiece." –*Los Angeles Times* **$11.95/quality paperback.**

Southern Ladies and Gentlemen *The* guide to the ways and means of Southern culture. King wields her terrible swift stiletto to slice through the kudzu of Dixie manners and archetypes, including the Southern Woman, the Self-Rejuvenating Virgin, and the Good Ole Boy. "This is the best book ever written about the South....And on top of that it's delectably funny." –*Chattanooga Times* **$10.95/quality paperback.**

Lump It or Leave It King gives no quarter in these acid-laced reflections on American tomfoolery. From the joys of menopause to the hazards of fame, from college professors ("incapable of earning a living with either their minds or their hands") and the U.S. government ("the crude leading the crud") to that favorite of subjects, the South ("if at first you don't secede, try, try, again"), there are few blockheads or brainless trends left standing after Miss Anthrope has her way with them. "The scent of sulpher and brimstone wafts off the page....venom on a par with Dorothy Parker's literary bite." –*Chicago Sun-Times* **$9.95/quality paperback.**

The Florence King Reader This wallop-packing, 200-proof best-of will leave literary livers cirrhotic as punch-drunk readers beg for another round. From her biting essays and *NR* columns to her icon-smashing reviews and book selections (including a chapter from her long-lost historical novel, *The Barbarian Princess*), this King-size collection is a must for aficionados and neophytes. "One of the few contemporary American essayists of sufficient pungency and wit to be almost always worth reading." –*Washington Post* **$13.95/quality paperback.**

Reflections in a Jaundiced Eye King administers industrial-strength smelling salts to rouse any spirit that's been overcome by the smog of "caring 'n' compassion." This collection of brilliant essays dishes out curmudgeon justice by exalting the likes of Good King Herod and Spinsterhood while abasing the culturally malignant (including "Democrazy" and the "Cult of Helpism"). "To say that Florence King doesn't suffer fools gladly is an understatement akin to suggesting that Fred Astaire could maneuver quite nicely on the dance floor." –*People* **$8.95/quality paperback.**

With Charity Toward None: A Fond Look at Misanthropy America's unreconstructed people-hater gleefully separates the weak from the chaffing in this masterpiece on *la vie misanthrope* ranging from Timon of Athens to Ty Cobb. Zip open the body bags of King's victims and you'll find faux misanthropes (Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Andy Rooney), closet misanthropes (Richard Nixon), and a slew of humanitarian rabble. "The only trouble with this book is that its covers are too close together." –*New York Times* **$9.95/quality paperback.**

National Review, King Book Offer, 215 Lexington Ave., NY, NY 10016

- ☐ ***Confessions of a Failed Southern Lady*** ($11.95)
- ☐ ***Southern Ladies and Gentlemen*** ($10.95)
- ☐ ***Lump It or Leave It*** ($9.95)
- ☐ ***The Florence King Reader*** ($13.95)
- ☐ ***Reflections in a Jaundiced Eye*** ($8.95)
- ☐ ***With Charity Toward None*** ($9.95)

PAYMENT: ☐ CHECK ENCLOSED
☐ BILL MY ☐ MASTERCARD ☐ VISA
Acct. No. _____
Ex. Date _____
Signature _____

YES! I need a strong dose of misanthropy, so please send me the Florence King books that I've checked. I enclose total payment of $_____ (add shipping/handling charges of $3.00 for first book, $1.00 for each additional book). Send my copies to:

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

Make checks payable to *National Review*.
Foreign orders add $4.00 US per book.
NY residents add sales tax.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE TOP 20 REASONS BILL CLINTON WILL ATTEND NR'S BERMUDA CRUISE

20. U.S. HAS NO EXTRADITION TREATY WITH BERMUDA Or so the Man from Hope hopes ("Secretary Albright, look into whether ..."). Fact is, Bermuda is *so* beautiful it takes handcuffs to get some people *out*. To get *in*, however, it only takes Celebrity Cruises' MV *Zenith*, the spectacular setting for the **National Review 1998 Bermuda Cruise**. Mark your calendars: our 7 days and nights of conservative revelry will take place May 23rd through May 30th.

19. WANTS MORE EXPERIENCE IN "FOREIGN RELATIONS" "Hey dahlin', how's about an *entente cordiale*?"

18. MUST BEGIN SEARCH FOR THE *REAL* ADULTERER Maybe O.J. can help. Anyway, why don't *you* search for something in Bermuda, like turquoise waters, purple-flowered pawpaw trees, yellow-feathered kiskadee birds, pastel cottages painted lilac, lemon, and lime, pink sands on Warwick Long Bay, secluded beaches and hideaway coves throughout the island, neighborhood pubs, "bobbies," town criers, and regimental guards in full regalia, cricket games, and afternoon teas. There's so much to see and do on this island paradise.

17. ADDRESSING WHITE HOUSE INTERN ALUMNI REUNION IN HAMILTON So many volunteers, so little time.

16. "I JUS' LUV CRUISIN'" Unfortunately—or *fortunately*—Mr. President, the *Zenith* does not have astroturf "in the back." Nor does it "drag" down Main Street. But we're sure you'll enjoy this rather-more-upscale type of cruising.

15. TICKET WAS SURPRISE GIFT FROM TIPPER It gives her the opportunity to measure for new curtains at the White House.

14. BELIEVES SIXTH COMMANDMENT DOESN'T APPLY AT SEA Ditto for the Ninth!!

13. WILL ASK BOB BORK FOR TIPS ON FIRING SPECIAL PROSECUTORS Fat chance: expect the Good Judge to be enjoying the company, and answering the questions, of *National Review* subscribers. The **National Review 1998 Bermuda Cruise** is their—and your—special opportunity to meet **Judge Bork**, as well as **Dinesh D'Souza**, **Ward Connerly**, **Mona Charen**, **Norman Podhoretz**, **Midge Decter**, **John Leo**, **Brent Bozell**, **William Rusher**, and *NR*'s **Rich Lowry**, **Kate O'Berine**, and **John O'Sullivan**.

12. OOPS! THINKS "LIDO" DECK IS REALLY "LIBIDO" DECK What'll he think about the *Zenith*'s "Fantasy" Deck?!

11. HEARD SHIP CAPTAIN CAN DIVORCE AS WELL AS MARRY Now that the Nevada fundraiser's been cancelled . . .

10. WANTS TO CHECK OUT "VIRGIN" BEACHES "Someone's got to help those poor young girls with the suntan lotion, no?"

9. EVEN BRENT BOZELL WILL BE FRIENDLIER COMPANY THAN HILLARY No knock on Brent—he's a *great* guy. And unlike a certain Health Care Czarina, if he disagrees with you, he'll never throw a lamp at you. The **National Review 1998 Bermuda Cruise** is your special opportunity to hear Brent, our other special guests, and *NR*'s editors discuss the two hottest topics—not related to the President's extracurricular activities—in America: media bias and political correctness.

8. NEW MICKEY DEES OPENING IN ST. GEORGE Jog to the Golden Arches with the First Customer. Join him in scarfing down an Egg McWhatever. And then another. And another. And one for the jog back. *Now* you're livin'!

7. CHANCE TO INFILTRATE "RIGHT WING" CONSPIRATORS Come on the cruise and you will become an official schemer, complete with your own FBI file that will be leaked to the White House as per Mrs. You-Know-Who's orders.

6. PLANS TO INHALE ONCE OUTSIDE 3-MILE LIMIT The **National Review 1998 Bermuda Cruise** will feature classic H. Upmann cigars, and top-shelf cognac, at two glorious late-night poolside smokers. What a *très* cool way to commence the wee hours.

5. CASINO GIVES BETTER ODDS THAN STARR The *Zenith*'s Mayfair Casino features one-armed bandits, Black Jack, and roulette—it's all here for you (and Lady Luck) to enjoy. (Sorry, but the Cattle Futures table will not be operating during the *NR* cruise.)

4. LOVED *TITANIC*: WANTS TO STAND ON DECK PLAYING PLAY SAX IN CASE OF ICEBERG Yes, we know, we've just violated the *cardinal* rule of cruise marketing: *DON'T MENTION THE* TITANIC*!* But heck: we'll use this opportunity to inform you that the *Zenith* is a spectacular ship, ultramodern, and gushingly praised ("exotic," "graceful," etc.) by every cruise guide published. As for icebergs, the only ones you'll ever see are the teeny tiny ones in your cocktail glass!

3. PLAYED VARSITY SHUFFLEBOARD AT OXFORD (No stick jokes, please.)

2. CHANCE TO DUMP SUBPOENAED PAPERS IN BERMUDA TRIANGLE "Documents? What documents?"

1. DID SOMEONE SAY "MIDNIGHT BUFFET"?! Yes Bubba, you can eat by the pound, round the clock. It's hard *not* to: gourmets and fellow gourmands will revel in the *Zenith*'s cuisine—it's fantastic, it's endless, and it's without doubt the best grub afloat.

GET YOUR FREE BERMUDA CRUISE INFORMATION KIT: CALL 1-888-335-4001

THE CRUISE AUTHORITY

Celebrity Cruises

H.UPMANN 1844

Offer in $US, per person, double occupancy. Rates include port charges, taxes, PFC, gratuities. Space is subject to availability. Categories are on a first come, first served basis. Guests in attendance subject to change without notice. Celebrity Cruises' Zenith *is of Liberian registry.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lets—and, well, you get the picture. As stated by one boy, Stan, the moral is: "Damn it! You know, I think that if parents would spend less time worrying about what their kids watch on TV, and more time worrying about what's going on in their kids' lives, this world would be a much better place."

THE depiction of gross bodily functions upsets normal people. That's because drawing a decorous curtain around things like that is one way we confirm for ourselves that we're not animals. In a weird way, the fact that so many people find *South Park* hilarious is good news. Outrageousness makes us laugh, and it comes as something of a relief that explosive diarrhea on TV is still considered outrageous. Despite the efforts of secularists to convince us that we're all animals anyway, with everything that implies by way of loosened standards of what's proper and improper, Americans still resist the idea. For now.

Of course people find humor in all sorts of things besides outrageousness. It's just the lowest, easiest way to get a laugh. The not-very-good news is that so many Americans evidently find outrageous humor funnier than any other kind. What a person laughs at is the most accurate intelligence test ever invented. Since August, our estimated national IQ has dropped a few points.

But that's not what is really regrettable about the show. The other source of *South Park* amusement is that prized, aggravating quality of the Nineties sensibility: irony.

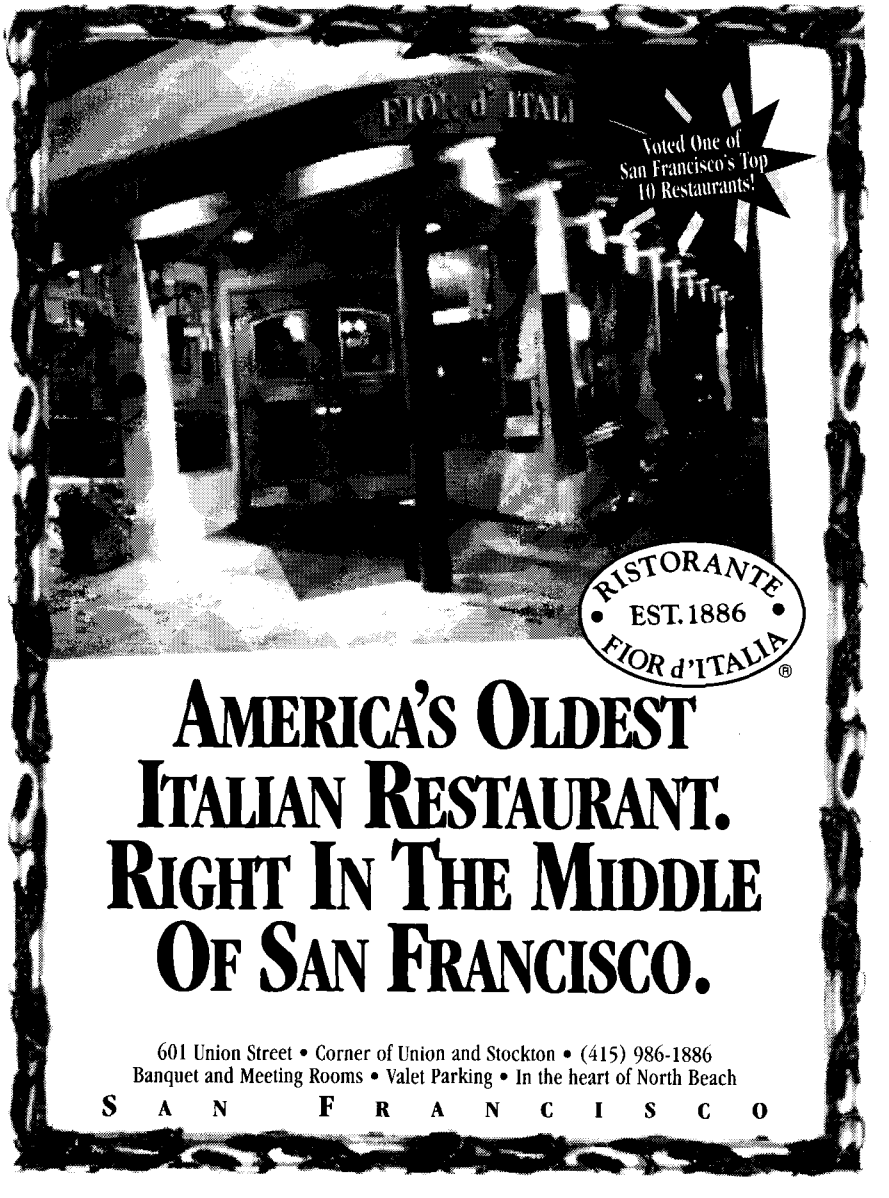
Creators Stone and Parker specialize in it. As film students they made features titled *Cannibal: The Musical* and *Giant Beaver of Southern Sri Lanka*. The two came to the attention of Hollywood by producing a five-minute short, "The Spirit of Christmas." In this, Santa Claus and Jesus fight each other "Mortal Kombat"-style while the South Park kids stand by cursing ("Dude, don't say 'pigf——' in front of Jesus!"). According to *Rolling Stone*, they'll soon have their first real movie out: *Ogazmo*, about "an earnest, soon-to-be-married, martial-arts-obsessed Mormon who gets caught up spending boogie nights in the porn game in order to pay for a church wedding."

The formula for ironic humor is numbingly ironclad. You just take one concept suggestive of convention and normality (a musical, a Mormon), and link it with an unrelated, somehow transgressive concept (cannibals, pornography). Thus half the laughs in *South Park* are supposed to come from the fact that we're watching adorable animated children talk the way these talk, and do other things children don't normally do on TV, like die gruesomely. The show's famous tag line is "Oh my God! They killed Kenny!" which Stan blurts out every episode after his friend Kenny has been impaled on a flagpole, crushed by hot lava, whatever. Then rats come and devour him. By the start of the next episode, he has been restored to life.

When a *Rolling Stone* writer accompanied Stone and Parker to an appearance on the *Tonight* show the pair bumped into Jerry Springer on the NBC lot and proceeded to ironically fawn on him. They exclaimed that they watch his schlocky talk show for inspiration: "Oh, my God! It's Jerry Springer! Now everything's been worthwhile!"

The appeal of irony is simple. By chuckling at it you remind yourself what a jaded, cynical—i.e., cool—person you are, how high you fly above the dowdy heads of those old folks and other squares who find irony mystifying or offensive. As Susan Sontag once explained, homosexuals love camp—defined as the juxtaposition of heightened emotion with cheesy art (as in Barbra Streisand's music)—because it affirms that life isn't to be taken seriously. Thus their characteristic activity needn't make them feel guilty. Irony is camp for heterosexuals, although its payoff is to set you above conventionality in general, not just conventional sex rules.

Of course some irony is cleverer than other irony. *South Park* is irony for dumb-dumbs, the worst kind. □


Voted One of
San Francisco's Top
10 Restaurants!
RISTORANTE
EST. 1886
FIOR d'ITALIA
AMERICA'S OLDEST
ITALIAN RESTAURANT.
RIGHT IN THE MIDDLE
OF SAN FRANCISCO.
601 Union Street • Corner of Union and Stockton • (415) 986-1886
Banquet and Meeting Rooms • Valet Parking • In the heart of North Beach
SAN FRANCISCO

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Descent of Man

Can conservative political concepts be derived from evolution? Critics respond to John O. McGinnis.

David Gelernter

ALTHOUGH I have deep reservations about John McGinnis' piece, ("The Origins of Conservatism" *NR*, Dec. 22, 1997) point one is that he is defending (as far as I'm concerned) propositions that ought to be defended, and reaching conclusions that are right and important. Any defender of these positions on family, government, and human nature is doing a good deed. Any critic who intends to open fire ought to salute first.

But it strikes me as disastrous to cede authority to science in an area that ought to be governed by religion, moral philosophy, and common sense. Evolutionary biology, McGinnis says, supports conservative principles. But what happens when science contradicts conservative principles? In that case (I assume) McGinnis would stand on principle and ignore science. You could argue that evolutionary biology "supports" eugenics and selective polygamy rights. So what good is science if we pay attention to it when it supports positions we have already reached by other routes, and ignore it otherwise? Yes-men are good for the ego but not for the soul. They have no effect on your thinking, and you can hardly expect them to impress your opponents. No serious conservative would abandon a principled position because science told him to, and I don't see how we can expect principled liberals to behave differently.

You might claim, though, that any argument that can be mustered in favor of correct principles ought to be mustered, because after all it can't do any harm. But it's important to underline, first, that all the principles McGinnis defends can be and have been defended (which McGinnis doesn't deny) with no help from evolutionary biology. And rolling out science under the circumstances, to defend positions that are adequately defended already, could do harm. It tends to shift the defense burden off common sense onto technical expertise. The implied message is: Do you think you understand why families are important? Well, if you knew science, then you'd *really* understand.

But it's a mistake to suggest that scientists (or laymen who are up on science) are in any stronger a position than anyone else to pontificate on moral or social issues. It's a mistake to suggest that experience, common sense, and religious training don't fully equip a man to see what is true where family, society, and human nature are concerned. In such areas scientists don't deserve to be built up. We care too much about technical expertise already; we've relentlessly devalued experience and common sense and religion, with disastrous results. I certainly don't want to claim that McGinnis is against common sense, religion, and so on; my guess is he's all in favor of them. But his way of arguing has bad side-effects. I wouldn't pop these pills unless I had to, and I don't have to.

McGinnis's goals also strike me as questionable. "Some religious conservatives," he notes, reject Darwin altogether, and he wants to reassure them that Darwin doesn't threaten religious faith. As far as I'm concerned, Darwin was proved right a long time ago. But if a person disagrees, the way to persuade him is by discussing the theory and the supporting evidence; if I believe that a theory is wrong, why should I change my mind on account of the good consequences that would follow if the theory were right? The technical name for such a maneuver should be "proof by wishful thinking." When you make this sort of argument, you question the anti-Darwinists' good faith—you imply that they reject Darwin not because he's wrong, but because life would be too awful if he were right. Maybe that's what McGinnis intends to imply; maybe the anti-Darwinists ought to have their good faith questioned. I don't know. But if that's what he thinks, he ought to say so and explain why.

McGinnis's main goal is a scientific proof of conservative principles; I've explained why I think this a bad idea, but want to note in closing the resemblance between this project and the long, sad history of scientific proofs of God. They never convinced anyone who wasn't convinced beforehand (because faith rests on perception, not analysis—you can't argue someone into believing that the sky is blue); and by conceding ultimate authority to science, they undermined faith to a far greater extent than they built it up. I don't mean that God and conservatism are the same thing—but there's a place beyond science, and we ought to respect the boundary. I'm all in favor of science. And I'm in favor of resisting science's tendency to regard itself as omnipotent.

I'm sure, to conclude, that McGinnis's principles are as good as any man's and his conclusions are impeccable. And if his piece wins converts, bravo. But even if his strategy succeeds, it strikes me as awfully risky. And it wouldn't convert me. □

Mr. Gelernter is a professor of computer science at Yale, and the author of 1939: The Lost World of the Fair *(Free Press).*

Thomas Fleming

THE roots of present-day conservative ideologies do not run very deep. Appeals to natural rights, the wisdom of the Founding Fathers, or divine revelation do little to convince a generation of Americans who think "nature" means Bambi and Thumper, that the Constitution of the United States is something made up by judges, and that the Bible is UNESCO in parables. Any resurrection of conservative principles will require a realistic anthropology—that is, an understanding of human nature as limited and intractable.

Aristotle, as a biologist, based his eth-

Mr. Fleming is editor of Chronicles *and the author of* The Politics of Human Nature *(Transaction Publishers).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ical and political theories both on his observations of human behavior and on what he knew of humanity as a natural species. Modern political philosophers, on the other hand, have begun, like Rousseau, by setting aside the facts. When political philosophers speak of natural rights, all they mean is a set of abstract principles that run counter to everything we know of the natural world, man included.

John O. McGinnis understands both the need for a natural politics and the opportunity being offered to conservatives by sociobiology, and his article is a good step toward "mainstreaming" the question. Of all the biologisms that have appeared in the past two centuries, sociobiology is the only one to hold onto the promise of a political philosophy derived from human nature. Quite correctly, McGinnis points out that the vision of a finite human nature is compatible with Christian theology and with the sound instincts of American conservatism. Prof. McGinnis is, however, not the first conservative to take up sociobiology, and some consideration of his predecessors might have enabled him to sharpen his analysis.

Rolling out science tends to shift the burden of defense off common sense onto technical expertise.

Take, for example, the basic sociobiological insight that successfully reproducing individuals pass on their characteristics, while losers do not. In general, this means that high status individuals—wolves, chimpanzees, and humans—have more offspring than their less successful competitors. McGinnis, apparently, thinks that ours is the first age of the world when the rich and powerful limited family size. Not true. Consider only the Spartans and the Romans, whose upper classes died out. In the latter case, it was almost certainly the result of deliberate contraception.

The problem is that the human brain is not hard-wired; on the contrary, it is a feedback mechanism that responds to incentives, and while it is true that many offspring equals success in rabbits, the human species pursues a somewhat different strategy, in laying a strong emphasis on the quality of children, who require so much prolonged attention. If the choice is between many poor children who may die or fail and a few children who may grow up to be leaders, the smart money is on the so-called k-strategy, as opposed to a strategy of breeding like, well, rabbits.

Of course, the very rich can afford both large numbers and careful attention, and some of the Kennedys have produced remarkably large broods, without necessarily bowing to the dictates of Pope Paul VI. But we humans are complicated creatures, capable of taking a good instinct and running it into the ground. In the overdevelopment of physical characteristics (E. O. Wilson calls this tendency "hypertrophy"), a species can seal its own doom, by growing, for example, large antlers that impress females but hamper the bucks that bear the racks. Humans do the same thing, sometimes physically (the Chinese obsession with small feet; the modern supermodels who look good in size two but are unfit to bear and nurse babies) and sometimes socially. The pursuit of equality and the elevation of inequality are the result of natural human tendencies (envy and the libido dominandi) which, if kept in check, can be beneficial to society; but we know that under the stimulus of absurd ideologies (such as Marxism and feminism), men can be seduced into suicidal social experimentation.

Even our healthiest appetites (for meat, sugar, sex) can be corrupted by overexposure to temptation. We can tell our doctors and parole officers that it is not our fault if we eat and wench like the President, but "nature red in tooth and claw" shows no mercy to societies of Sybarites, Sodomites, or families with a single child.

She is equally ruthless to overgrown empires that conscript Burke's little platoons into a national bureaucracy. Throughout most of our history, humans and our ancestors have lived in small, face-to-face societies of family and tribe that claimed our loyalties. McGinnis thinks that federalism has outlived its usefulness in this age of easy transportation and mass communication, but the principle of subsidiarity is almost as organic as the natural basis of our political system. In abandoning federalism, we are committing a mistake as fatal as the Communists' attempt to eliminate social status and economic competition. □

Michael J. Behe

YOU have to hand it to those Darwinists—they've got imagination. Lots and lots of imagination. John O. McGinnis's essay reminds me of some other imaginative folks—turn-of-the-last-century astronomer Percival Lowell and his followers. That enthusiastic bunch spotted what seemed to be lines on the surface of Mars, and concluded that the lines were canals built by a technologically advanced race. Mars had a world government, they deduced, because the canals appeared to cross international boundaries. They even located the capital city.

Silliness reigns whenever tiny bits of data are made to prop up massive conjectures. In the best tradition of Percival Lowell, Prof. McGinnis takes the observation that genes vary in a population and runs with it. Genes vary, and so the government should regulate sexual behavior. Although such a conclusion may be objectively correct, the contention that it follows from the premise of varying genes is zany.

McGinnis's reasoning about biology and politics boils down to a simple syllogism: 1) human beings have traits A, B, and C; 2) Darwinism explains everything; 3) therefore, Darwinism explains A, B, and C. If we have any reason at all to doubt the second premise, however, his arguments collapse in a heap. And we've got reasons aplenty. I apologize for getting a bit technical, but that's necessary to discuss three critical areas of biology where Darwinist theory has big problems: sex, embryos, and cells.

First, sex. As was realized more than a century ago, Darwinism wrongly predicts that sex should be rare or nonexistent. The reason is simple: For every

Mr. Behe, professor of biochemistry at Lehigh University, is the author of Darwin's Black Box: The Biochemical Challenge to Evolution *(Free Press).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

two offspring that a sexual species produces, only one (the female) can produce further offspring. Both offspring, however, of an asexual species can go on to reproduce. Thus asexual species should rapidly outbreed sexual ones. The embarrassing fact that most species are sexual forces Darwinists into ad hoc explanations, none of which is very convincing. The prominent evolutionary biologist George C. Williams calls the problem a "crisis" and has written that if sex did not exist "there would be no mystery." Reproduction is at the heart of Darwinism. Its longstanding failure to account for sex is like having a theory of gravity that predicts objects will fall up instead of down.

Next, embryos. Do you remember those little drawings in your high-school biology textbook showing several very similar embryos gradually morphing into a fish, a chicken, a human, and so forth? Remember how they were touted as strong evidence for evolution? Well, guess what—the embryos don't look like that. As reported in *Science*, last September, the drawings are fakes. Embryos are different, even in the earliest stages of development. The fraudulent figures were first drawn in the late nineteenth century by an admirer of Darwin named Ernst Haeckel. He reasoned that the early stages of development must stay the same in Darwinian evolution, lest the whole developmental applecart be upset. Changes must take place only in the later stages, and he designed his drawings accordingly. For a century Haeckel's bogus reasoning has been accepted by virtually all Darwinists. For example, in his 1994 college textbook, Bruce Alberts, the president of the National Academy of Sciences, reproduced Haeckel's drawings and agreed with him that "even small changes in [early development] are likely to result in disaster." That idea, however, has now been falsified.

Finally, the cell. Prof. McGinnis writes blithely about the relationship of Darwinism to political ideas. Those ideas, however, would reside in the *brain*, which consists of hundreds of millions of cells. Yet Darwinism can't explain how even *one* cell developed. All cells require the genetic code and complex decoding machines to translate genetic information. Nerve cells, such as those found in the brain, need an elaborate apparatus to set up a voltage across the cell membrane, need other molecular machines to ferry supplies from the cell body toward the synapse, and so forth. How did these things originate? Darwinism hasn't a clue. As University of Chicago biochemist James Shapiro wrote recently, "There are no detailed Darwinian accounts for the evolution of any fundamental biochemical or cellular system, only a variety of wishful speculations." And Darwinian difficulties are multiplied by a hundred million when going from a single cell to the brain.

Prof. McGinnis builds a theoretical tower whose foundation is a quivering mass of Jello. His essay is an invitation to conservatives to take a swim in a Martian canal. □

. . . Response

JOHN O. MCGINNIS

I AM grateful to Messrs. Fleming and Gelernter for their thoughtful responses to my essay "The Origins of Conservatism." Prof. Gelernter worries that my use of Darwinism to vindicate the conservative view of human nature will make conservatism hostage to science. He wonders what I will say if biology turns out to be hostile to some principles of the Right. I made clear in my essay that our moral objectives could not be directly derived from science, and thus they cannot be changed by science. Human nature, however, constrains the manner in which we may realize these objectives, and conservatism is based in part on factual premises describing these constraints. I am surprised if Gelernter fears that science will show these premises about human behavior are false. Gelernter believes, as I do, that conservatism has support in common sense, and this common sense has its roots in the observation of the actions of our fellow men. It is precisely because of the congruence between conservatism and common sense that we may confidently predict the confirmation of conservatism's factual premises through biological analysis.

He also compares my "proof" of conservatism with the proofs of the existence of God that rarely persuaded anyone. But a proof of God attempts to reduce the supernatural to the rational and the sacred to the mundane: it is hardly surprising that our common sense rebels against such an undertaking. In contrast, politics is very much of this world, and we surely strengthen our conservative theory of social behavior if we show that it is part of a great unifying theory of nature. Throughout history science has dispelled many myths that were the source of much human misery. Why shouldn't modern biology continue such progress by putting to rest leftist myths (such as the notion that man can transform his nature through politics) that have been the cause of so much misfortune?

I am a little baffled that Gelernter reproves me for touting to Christian conservatives some good (or at least not bad) consequences of Darwinism rather than arguing for its general truth. First, the general truth of Darwinism has been more than adequately defended elsewhere. Second, Gelernter's essay itself is not about the truth of my claims but about their nugatory or even harmful consequences. My method of appeal in this one part of my essay is thus no more inappropriate than his. Political consequences are always considered as part of political theorizing.

In contrast to Gelernter, Thomas Fleming agrees that any sensible conservative politics depends on reviving the idea of an intractable human nature and that sociobiology offers the best contemporary understanding of that nature. In my view, our differences are narrow. We are also in agreement that some form of subsidiarity is important so as simultaneously to restrain government and inculcate fellow feeling. We differ in that he believes that federalism can be revived as a powerful constitutive force, whereas I believe that the rise of mass transportation and communication require us to rebuild the principles of subsidiarity on other foundations. I also agree that social conditions can lead men to engage in destructive behavior that would have been wholly unknown in a

Mr. McGinnis is a professor at the Cardozo Law School at Yeshiva University.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

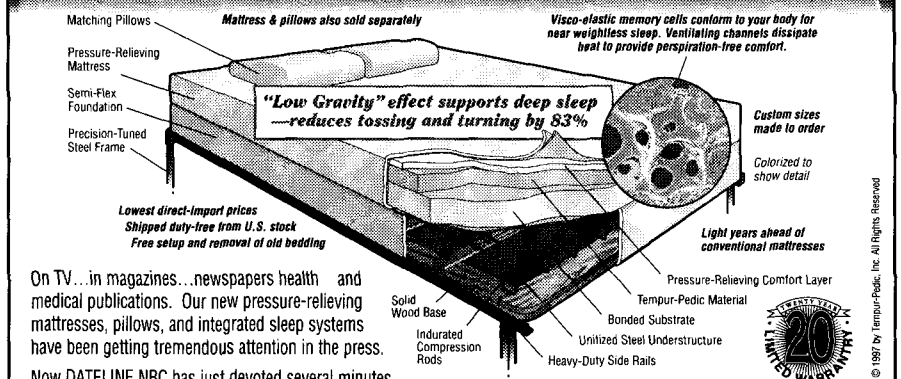
hunter–gatherer society. A biologically based view of human nature does not presume that all human behavior is genetically hard-wired but instead understands behavior as emerging from an interaction of our genes with the environment. Agreement on the content of human nature should help forge a consensus for creating institutions that appropriately channel our nature so as to sustain a prosperous, stable, and moral society in the current environment.

Professor Behe misunderstood my essay by suggesting I believe conservative ideas have somehow appeared in cells because of evolution.

Professor Behe completely misunderstands my essay by suggesting I believe that conservative political ideas have somehow appeared in cells because of evolution, whereas my argument is that human impulses and capacities are shaped by evolution. He attacks the biological explanations of human behavior relevant to politics by complaining that Darwinism has not explained *other* elements of the natural world. He thus leaves unchallenged the biological explanations of traits essential to understanding human politics, such as innate differences between the sexes, reciprocity among individuals, and natural inequality. The evidence for these traits is found not only in humans but also in related species. Thus, far from being a "quivering mass of Jello," such explanations offer a securer foundation for political theory than is typical of social science.

Behe's assertions not only fail to confront my argument but also are overstated. For instance, Darwinism has offered the beginnings of a plausible theory for the appearance of sexual reproduction: sex confers a natural-selection advantage by allowing animals to reconfigure their immune systems to fool successive generations of parasites. In any event, Behe offers no other scientific explanations for such phenomena, let alone explanations that would undermine my account of the biology that helps generate our politics. □

Here's the Life-Changing Swedish Sleep System Just Reported On "DATELINE NBC DISCOVERY"!


Matching Pillows
Mattress & pillows also sold separately
Visco-elastic memory cells conform to your body for near weightless sleep. Ventilating channels dissipate heat to provide perspiration-free comfort.
Pressure-Relieving Mattress
Semi-Flex Foundation
Precision-Tuned Steel Frame
"Low Gravity" effect supports deep sleep —reduces tossing and turning by 83%
Custom sizes made to order
Colorized to show detail
Lowest direct-import prices
Shipped duty-free from U.S. stock
Free setup and removal of old bedding
Light years ahead of conventional mattresses
Pressure-Relieving Comfort Layer
Tempur-Pedic Material
Solid Wood Base
Bonded Substrate
Indurated Compression Rods
Unitized Steel Understructure
Heavy-Duty Side Rails
20 YEARS LIMITED WARRANTY
© 1997 by Tempur-Pedic, Inc. All Rights Reserved

On TV...in magazines...newspapers health and medical publications. Our new pressure-relieving mattresses, pillows, and integrated sleep systems have been getting tremendous attention in the press.

Now DATELINE NBC has just devoted several minutes of precious airtime to telling all of America about *our* revolutionary Tempur-Pedic Bed. It's the LIFE-CHANGING SWEDISH SLEEP SYSTEM that is the most amazing sleep-science breakthrough ever...a boon to insomniacs and back-pain sufferers!

Our Pressure-Relieving Sleep System eliminates painful "pressure points" that rob us of healthful, life-restoring sleep and eases aches and pains. Try the mattress in your home for **three full months**. If you are not completely satisfied for any reason we will buy it back. Get all the facts including a **free sample** of the Tempur-Pedic material by calling **800-886-6466**.

On Oct. 5, 1997, Tempur-Pedic, Inc. was featured on Dateline NBC as a Dateline Discovery. Dateline does not endorse any specific services or products featured on its program.

TEMPUR-PEDIC
PRESSURE RELIEVING SWEDISH MATTRESS AND PILLOW

For a **FREE SAMPLE** of the Tempur-Pedic material, free video, information and direct import prices

Call 800-886-6466

Send Fax to 606-259-9843

Visit us on the internet at www.tempurpedic.com

COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS AND SCIENCES

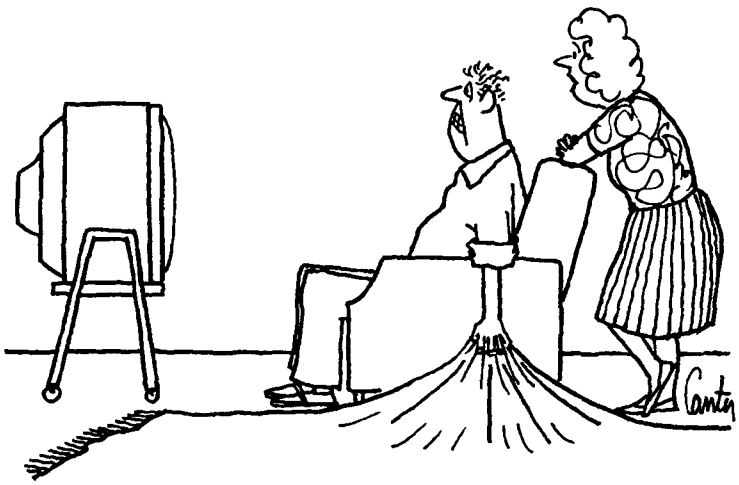
Politics IS YOUR Life. NOW MAKE IT YOUR Living.

★ ***MS in Political Science*** For love or money, there's no place better than Beacon Hill to learn the ins and outs of professional politics firsthand. From campaigning to lobbying and speech writing, it's the only master's program of its kind in the Northeast. Beacon Hill, Boston, MA **617-573-8302**

THE GRADUATE PROGRAMS AT Suffolk University
A HIGHER DEGREE OF CHOICE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

help!!!



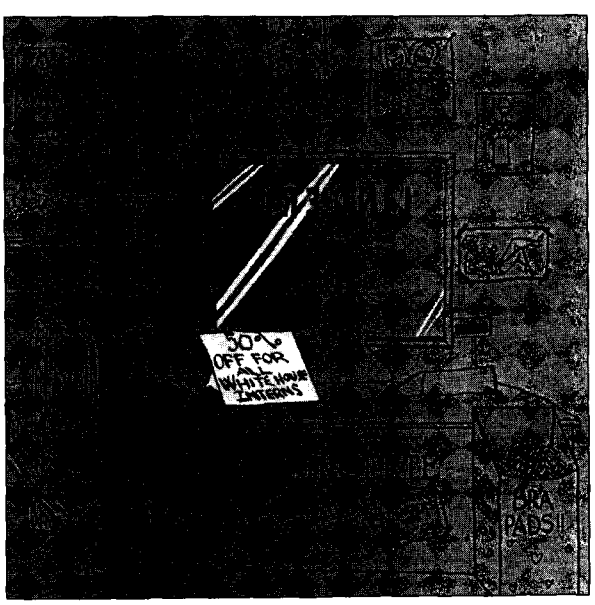
"Now who was traded?"

How Long, O Lord?

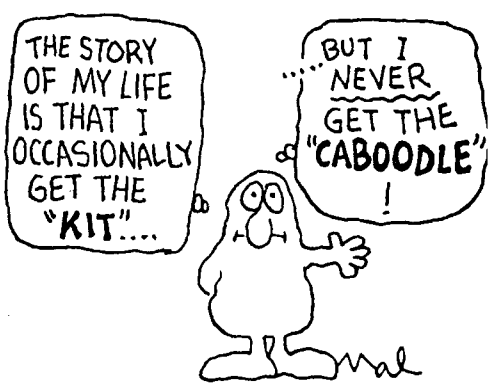
As Babbitt moves from frying pan
To where your cautious chef will scan
The spitted pig for signs of burn,
The President begins to turn
(In private) to the Book of Job,
While Reno kicks off one more probe.

—W. H. von Dreele

"Mine can't read or write either, but at least they're not passing notes all the time."



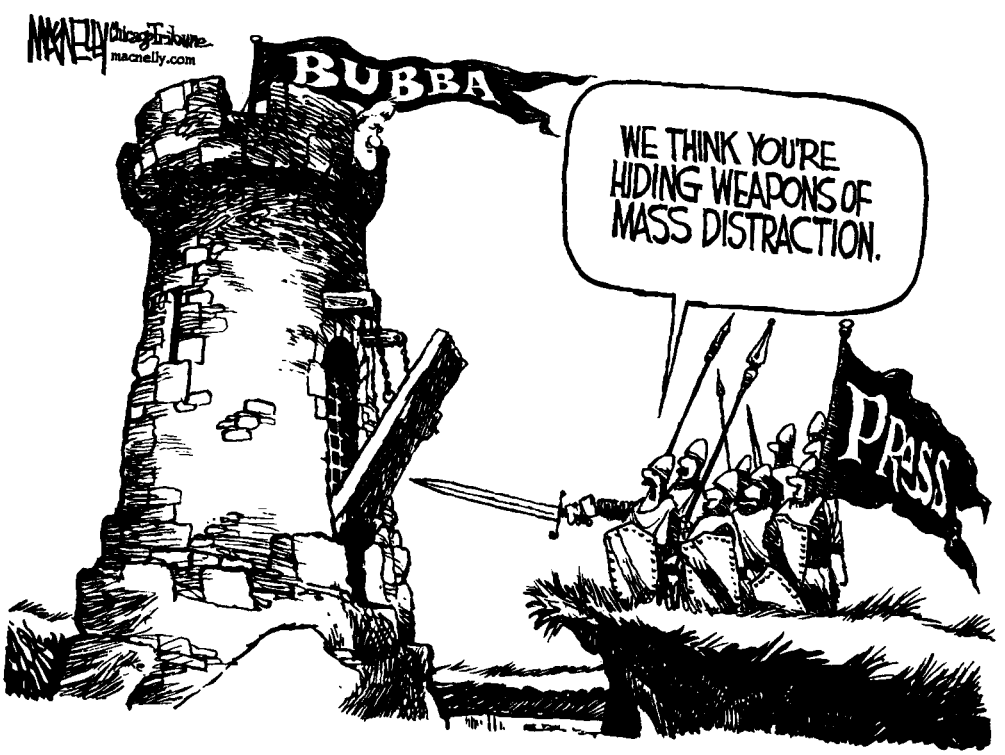
Mart Jacobsen



© Mal Ent., Inc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

...3000 FEET...
...4000 FEET...
YOU MAKE THE CALL...
...WHATEVER ALTITUDE YOU WANT...
...PUT 'ER DOWN OVER THERE SOMEWHERE...
...LAND?!! I'M ON BREAK...
...WHICH ONE WERE YOU AGAIN?
...THE AIR TRAFFIC CONTROLLERS ARE TAKING THE NAME CHANGE HARD...
RONALD REAGAN AIRPORT
WELCOME TO WASHINGTON, D.C.
CONCOURSE



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Memorandum

DATE: February 1, 1997
FROM: Frank Luntz Research
TO: N. Gingrich, D. Quayle, G. Bush Jr., J. Bush, J. Kasich, & staff
IN RE: Recent focus-group data and suggested course corrections

Guys: Well, we were a bit off the mark last month when we predicted a "return to traditional morality." The events of the past few weeks—Monica Lewinsky, Bill Clinton, and a 63 per cent approval rating—have encouraged us to review our methodology a bit and tweak our focus-group techniques.

Certain words and phrases we once recommended—"common-sense values," "family unity," "opportunity society," and "keeping more of what you earn for your family and your future"—should be put on hold. Using our revised methodology, our extensive polling and focus-grouping reveal that the current "good feelings towards" phrases are: "ride it like a Harley," "gimme some sugar," "mmmm, mmmm, you are one fine piece of a—," and "I categorically deny all allegations; the media should be ashamed of themselves."

Weaving these phrases into your public speeches will yield high voter approval. Remember: Bill Clinton is now at record-high popularity. He doesn't need to work as hard at this as we do—it comes naturally to him. So use these phrases liberally (as it were!) in your daily speaking engagements, sit back, and watch your poll numbers zoom!

Some specific recommendations:

Mr. Quayle, your public image is squeaky clean. This is, in light of our recent polling data, your biggest drawback. While it is understandable, of course, that your wife, Marilyn, may have reservations about encouraging you to conduct a public affair (that is, a "private" affair that we at FLR will "leak" to the media) perhaps she could be prevailed upon to allow you to slap her around a bit, in public. Because of your extremely benign public image, you will have to really put your weight behind the slaps. She will have to defend you. Again, we apologize for the rather abrupt mid-course correction, but I think you'll agree, after perusing the attached data, that the voters are in an unforgiving mood. It is imperative that you broaden your support by giving your wife a black eye. By the New Hampshire primaries, it is our recommendation that you also deliver her a mild concussion.

George Jr. is a trickier case. Your name-association with your father is both positive (some voters associate him with certain rumors of adultery) and negative (his successful prosecution of the Gulf War left many voters cold). Therefore, a sex scandal is probably a "coals to Newcastle" situation. Your Texas identity, though, is fertile ground for image enhancement. Your best bet, according to our blind polling, is to become a serial killer during the months leading up to the Iowa caucus. (FLR can arrange the details.)

Your high voter recognition and the lingering popularity of your father probably obviate the need for angry denials—incontrovertible forensic evidence alone will be enough to guarantee a strong showing on Super Tuesday.

Jeb, our recommendation to you is to start a series of small fires—your positive "good feelings towards" numbers are quite high, so actual property damage is unnecessary, and of course, you aren't unpopular enough that we would recommend the taking of human life, though if you do "break out" in the next 18 months, we would strongly urge you to rob a major city bank and take hostages. In light of our new findings, that would be the only way to solidify your support.

John, our research suggests several significant areas of possibilities. Name recognition is obviously your first concern. Our research indicates that you will gain both high-visibility and the all-important "good feelings towards" numbers if you announce, at some point before the spring recess, that you keep a string of boy prostitutes in several apartments in the Adams-Morgan section of town. You should also, we hardly need mention, deny it as vociferously as possible. We at FLR will supply the various news media (with your consultation) incontrovertible evidence of your activities to accompany your denial.

Newt, you have a deeper problem. Just as the President has reinforced voter preconceptions (i.e., they thought he was an unstable character, and he has confirmed this belief) you, too, must burnish your image in the public's consciousness. You must be Newt, only more so. You must give them the Newt they want. Suggested course of action for Newt: burn down an orphanage.

Hope these ideas help! Keep the faith!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

Johnson's America

MICHAEL LIND

ALTHOUGH he might be horrified by the comparison, Paul Johnson reminds me of another British writer, H. G. Wells. Like Johnson, Wells was an amazingly prolific generalist who took it upon himself to bring order to chaos in vast realms of human experience and to pronounce his judgments with the Olympian certainty and infernal wit that only journalists and pundits are licensed to deploy. Also like Wells, who was too smart to be a consistent leftist, Johnson, a convert from the Left to the Right, strikes me as constitutionally incapable of acting as a spokesman for any orthodoxy.

For any other writer, a history of the American people would be a daunting, lifelong project. For Johnson—the author of, among other works, synoptic histories of the Jews, Christianity, and modernity—the subject is comparatively modest. The very fact that Johnson has undertaken to write a history of the American people is a clue to his perspective. For a national history presupposes a nation.

A History of the American People, by Paul Johnson (HarperCollins, 1,088 pp., $35)

A significant current debate involves precisely this question: Is there an American nation? The "national question" is addressed by three schools of thought. American nationalists believe that all Americans, except for unacculturated immigrants and enclave minorities like the Amish and the Navajo, belong to a common, extra-political cultural nation, defined by language, culture, and customs. American nationalists do not confuse our inherited caste categories (of which the most important are the arbitrary divisions of "white" and "black") with "cultures," which individuals may or may not share with other Americans of similar ancestry.

That confusion is at the heart of a second viewpoint, multiculturalism, which treats "race" and "culture" as synonymous. Multiculturalists think of racialized cultures or culturalized races (usually five of them—white, African American, Hispanic-American, Asian-American, and Native American) as the components of a multinational America.

Roman Genn

A third school of thought is represented by democratic universalists, who have a purely political definition of American identity. According to this view, the U.S. is a post-national or non-national idea-state—a purely political entity whose members have nothing in common except for a commitment to the liberal-democratic ideals of the Founding Fathers.

This debate over American identity has obvious implications for the historian. A multiculturalist cannot write a history of the American people—at most, he can write parallel histories of the five or six American peoples (in the plural). A democratic-universalist history of the United States would be a history of constitutions, parties, and political philosophies. Only someone who subscribes to the nationalist school can tell the story of the American nation as a nation.

The choice of a theory more or less dictates the point at which the historian will begin. A universalist historian should start a history of America in 1776—when the liberal-democratic American state was founded. Since the American nation is older than the Federal Government, a nationalist history of this country should begin in 1607, when the Virginia colony, the first permanent Anglo-American settlement, was founded, or earlier.

Johnson proves that he belongs to the nationalist school of American history when he begins his narrative with the Middle Ages. "The mixture of religious zeal, personal ambition—not to say cupidity—and lust for adventure which inspired generations of Crusaders was the prototype for the enterprise of the Americas." This is a typical Johnsonian observation—at once strikingly original, and strikingly obvious, now that he has pointed it out.

Rebuffed in the East by Islam, the Portuguese, Spanish, and French move into the Western Hemisphere. Appropriately the English, who were latecomers to the European conquest, colonization, and exploitation of the Americas, do not show up until we are well into the first chapter. The key figure in the English colonization of America is Sir Walter Raleigh—for whom Virginia is the second frontier, after Ireland: "In the American enterprise, Ireland played the same part for the English as the war against the Moors had done for the Spanish—it was a training-ground both in suppressing and uprooting an alien race and culture,

Mr. Lind is most recently the author of The Alamo and *editor of* Hamilton's Republic.

BooksNow
To order these books, (24hrs, 365 days) please call (800) 962-6651 (Ext. 3700) or visit us at http://www.booksnow.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and in settling conquered lands and building towns."

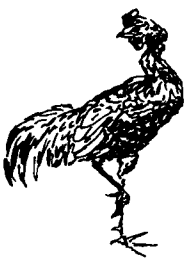
It has always struck me as weird that we celebrate the founding of our Federal Government rather than the "plantation" of our nation. Before there could be a Washington, there had to be a Raleigh. The genuine "Founding Fathers" were not the Patriots of 1776 and the Framers of the Constitution of 1787. They created the government, not the nation. The true founders were the impresarios of the colonial era, who "planted" the first British settler populations—Raleigh and Captain John Smith and their Virginians, Penn and his Quakers in the Delaware Valley, John Winthrop and his Puritans in New England. Johnson does full justice to this neglected subject; he describes Winthrop, for example, as "the outstanding figure of the Puritan voyages, the first great American."

MOST of the readers of this magazine presumably know how the story of America turned out, and I will not presume to summarize in a few paragraphs what Johnson takes nine hundred pages to describe. A colossal undertaking like this requires a rare combination of scholarly *Sitzfleisch* and literary skill.

Inasmuch as history is a branch of social science, a first-rate historian must be able to marshal divisions and battalions of data; at the same time, as history is also a literary art, he must be able to direct the maneuvers of his legions by means of banners and flags, in the form of judicious quotes or memorable anecdotes. I am not qualified to check all of Johnson's scholarship (who is?) but his treatment of a subject which I know quite well, Alexander Hamilton's financial reforms, unites sound scholarship with insightful analogies, personality profiles, and vivid detail in just the right proportion:

> His disloyal and acerbic Vice President, Adams, might call him Old Muttonhead, but Washington knew very well what he was doing. And the first thing he had to do was to get the national finances in order. That meant appointing Hamilton the first Secretary of the Treasury, and giving him a free hand to get on with the job. The financial mess into which the new nation had got itself as a result of the Revolutionary War and the subsequent failure to create a strong federal executive can be briefly summarized. . . . The market price of government paper (that is, proof of debt) had fallen from 150 to 30 cents on the dollar, depending on the relative worthlessness of the paper. The consequence of inflation and improvidence was precisely the kind of disaster which was to hit all the Latin American republics when they came into being in the next generation, and from which some of them have never recovered to this day. Somehow, the United States, which sprang from the stock of England, whose credit rating was the model for all the world, had to pull itself out of the pit of bankruptcy.

Note how Johnson turns what might have been a dreary passage about eighteenth-century fiscal policy into a suspenseful narrative, enlivened by a reference to the present (when "debt crisis" has usually been modified by the phrase "Latin American"—although the Asian currency crisis may change this).



Here is Johnson on Henry Clay, whom he describes as "probably the most innovative politician in American history, to be ranked with Franklin, Jefferson, Hamilton, and Madison as a political creator":

> Clay was six feet . . . and could fight with the best of them. He was slender, graceful, but ugly: "Henry's face was a compromise put together by a committee" and was distinguished by an enormously wide mouth, like a slash. He used this mouth often, to eat and drink prodigiously, to shape his superbly soft, melodic, caressing voice, and to do an extraordinary amount of kissing. As he put it, "Kissing is like the Presidency, it is not to be sought and not to be declined." His opponents said his prodigiously wide mouth allowed him an unfair advantage: "the ample dimensions of his kissing apparatus enabled him completely to rest one side of it while the other was on active duty." If women had had the vote Clay would have experienced no difficulty in becoming President every time he chose to run.

This is vivid and memorable writing, as well as an object lesson in the artful use of quotation. A mealy-mouthed American academic or popular historian would have cut the last line, for fear of offending politically correct feminists, just as he would have dropped the line about Latin American debt, for fear of being accused of racism.

On the Civil War, Johnson writes that it "constitutes the central event in American history." Here Johnson follows the consensus opinion. However, while the Civil War was the most violent event in American history, was it really the most important? If you take the distinction between the American nation and the Federal Government seriously, then the wars that determined where English-speaking Americans lived in North America were more consequential, in the final analysis, than the wars about what the capital (or capitals) would be. The French and Indian War ensured that the language spoken in most of Canada and what is now the eastern United States would be English, not French. The Texas Revolution and the Mexican War extended the territory of the Anglophone Americans into Texas, California, and the Southwest. Was the war to keep Alabama really more significant, in the long run of history, than the war to gain California and Texas—today the two most populous states in the Union? If the U.S. had crumbled in the 1860s into two or more confederacies, world history would have been quite different, but the ethnonational division of North America between English-speakers, Spanish-speakers, and French-speakers would have been pretty much the same, though the South and West might have expanded into the Caribbean and Mexico. (To his credit, Johnson devotes a lengthy section to "Polk and the Mexican War.")

In his discussion of the Civil War itself, Johnson is admirably even-handed. "Only two states wanted a civil war —South Carolina and Massachusetts." (They still do.) Johnson points out that Jefferson Davis was progressive in many ways, and that Lincoln hoped that freed blacks could be shipped out of the country. When it comes to Reconstruction, though, he goes badly wrong. Johnson repeats the old Southern Redeemer view of Reconstruction as the tyrannical rule of "blacks, guided by Northern Army officers, a few Northerners, and some renegade whites." This makes it seem as if only blacks (who needed to be "guided" to oppose the ex-Confederate Democrats!) supported the Reconstruction state governments. In reality, significant parts of the Southern white population—particularly Highland Southerners and German immigrants in Texas—despised the Confederacy and welcomed the federal armies and the Republican regimes.

Fortunately, the remainder of the book shows Johnson at his combative, iconoclastic best. With an uncanny sense of timing, he provides titillating details about the sex lives of liberal Presidents

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and their wives. "It was widely believed by Eleanor's many enemies . . . that she became a lesbian. If so, she was bisexual." "Jack, in turn, used his political glamour to secure political trophies from the movies, including Gene Tierney and Marilyn Monroe, the latter first shared with, then passed on to, Bobby." LBJ "was an inveterate bottom-pincher, especially in swimming pools." Repeatedly Paul Johnson portrays liberal Presidents as adulterous cads who betray their long-suffering wives. He may be onto something.

Much more interesting is his attack on what he regards as inflated reputations—including the biggest of them all. He criticizes FDR and also Eisenhower for failing to wage the war in Europe so as to deny as much territory as possible to the Soviets. "Eisenhower refused to countenance the proposal of his chief British subordinate, General Bernard Montgomery, to throw all the Allied resources into a single, direct thrust at Berlin." Before we congratulate the British on their foresight, however, we should remember that it was the casualty-conscious British government that wanted to delay the invasion of the Continent; an earlier invasion might have ended the war sooner, with Soviet armies further in the east. There is a bit of the confident armchair general in Johnson.

His historical revisionism reaches a crescendo in his attempt to rehabilitate the image of Richard Nixon. His boldness is impressive but his timing in this case is unfortunate, given the recent release of hitherto-secret Nixon tapes which portray a self-pitying bully and corruptionist. Nevertheless, Johnson may be ahead of his time in insisting that Nixon's crookedness be seen in the context of the behavior of other Presidents, especially the sleazy Kennedys.

The subject of Nixon raises a serious problem with Johnson's entire project of revising the reputations of American leaders in the twentieth century. Nixon, after all, was denounced by the Right as a Rockefeller Republican—and he has been claimed as something of a progressive by liberal historians like Stephen Ambrose. Should conservatives defend Nixon's memory, or calumniate it?

Johnson has equated the Republican Party with conservatism and the Democratic Party with liberalism, and then gone back through the history of the twentieth century, painting mustaches on the portraits of Democrats and providing the Republicans with haloes. But the conservative Republican/liberal Democrat dichotomy really does not work before the 1960s, when the two parties exchanged constituencies. Before the Sixties, the Democrats were the party of socially conservative white Southerners and Northern Catholics (particularly Irish Catholics). Today those groups tend to vote Republican. The GOP used to be the party of Greater New England Protestants and blacks—the very groups that are now the core constituencies of the Democrats. In 1964, more Republicans than Democrats in Congress voted for the Civil Rights Act. The young Hillary Rodham was a rock-ribbed Republican.

A current debate involves the question: Is there an American nation? That Johnson has undertaken to write a history of the American people is a clue to his perspective.

Johnson has failed to realize that the real continuity is found in constituencies, not parties. A comparison of Truman's and Nixon's electoral bases shows that they were almost exactly the same. The continuity is not just regional and ethnic; it is found in policy, too. Yankee Progressives—Democratic and Republican—were disproportionately opposed to U.S. intervention in World Wars I and II and to the Cold War. Southern conservatives ardently supported U.S. intervention in all three conflicts. As for the much-reviled New Deal, Reagan and his successors have been careful not to slash entitlement programs that benefit their white Southern and white ethnic constituents—only those identified with blacks (like Aid to Families with Dependent Children) or favored by elite Yankee mainline Protestants and Jews (like the National Endowment for the Arts). If Johnson wanted to denounce the precursors of today's Democrats, he should have assaulted the memories of Yankee Progressives like TR and Hoover.

When it comes to subjects other than partisan alignments, Johnson understands the importance of regionalism in American politics. "The shift of America's center of gravity, both demographic and economic, from the Northeast to the Southwest was one of the most important changes of modern times," he observes. "The economic-demographic shift brought changes in political power and philosophy. Since the mid 1960s, all America's elected Presidents have come from the South and West: Johnson and Bush from Texas, Nixon and Reagan from California, Carter from Georgia, and Clinton from Arkansas. The only Northerner, Ford, was never elected."

In debates over American art and culture, Johnson takes the sides of Westerners, Midwesterners, and Southerners against Northeasterners. He quotes Van Wyck Brooks in 1919 telling Waldo Frank to "never forget that it is we New Yorkers and New Englanders who have the monopoly of whatever oxygen there is in the American continent." Johnson disagrees. To expatriates such as Henry James and T. S. Eliot he prefers artists and intellectuals who stayed at home to shape a new American culture. He writes admiring descriptions of jazz: "It was genuine melting-pot because the left-hand bass performed a steady 2/4 Western march time while the right-hand treble did the Afro-syncopation." As if there were any doubts about Johnson's populist aesthetic, he follows the architect Robert Venturi in praising Las Vegas hotels as the quintessence of American culture: "Characteristically American, they followed in the tradition of the gargantuan, paddle-wheeled Mississippi gambling steamers, with their Babylonian luxuries and rococo decor, which outraged and fascinated Americans between the Age of Jackson and the Civil War."

JOHNSON brings the story of America to a rather abrupt end with a pep talk: "It is appropriate to end this history of the American people on a note of success, because the story of America is essentially one of difficulties being overcome by intelligence and skill, by faith and strength of purpose, by courage and persistence." Well, maybe or maybe not, but Johnson's reader can only be impressed by his ability to overcome the narrative historian's difficulties with intelligence, skill, faith, strength of purpose, courage, and—not

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

least—persistence. Johnson's major competitor in this genre of popular history is himself, and despite some lapses and longueurs inevitable in such a book—he lives up to his reputation as a scholar and a writer.

Of the two roles, the latter is the more important. In the final analysis, the historian is like a dramatist or novelist retelling a familiar story in a fresh way. Macaulay portrays William of Orange as the savior of Britain and civilization; Hilaire Belloc portrays him as a morbid figure who set Britain and the West on the path to ruin. Only one of these historians can be right, but both can be great. *A History of the American People* proves that history can still be literature. □

The Right Man, the Right Time

MATTHEW SCULLY

BACK in 1992 George Will predicted that a Clinton Presidency would make things more interesting in the column trade. The Bush Administration had been "bored to tears and boring," Will told Brian Lamb on

The Woven Figure: Conservatism and America's Fabric, by George F. Will (Scribner, 384 pp., $25)

Booknotes. He had a point, and perhaps for that reason the Bush years didn't bring out the best in Will himself: he got on his "taxophobia" kick, many times reminding us that America was "a nation undertaxed." There was a case to be made for this—Will feared a ruinous deficit—but it was more his tone that grated: "To those who are liberals and to those who call themselves conservatives, I say: Politics is more difficult than you think."

In 1990 he famously called Bush a "lapdog" with a "tinny little arf," an event in Washington not because the crack was all that devastating but because it was George Will saying it. And never mind that Bush's biggest mistake was finally to agree with Will that America was, after all, undertaxed. As a political writer, Will seemed at times to suffer from a case of loftyism: government was "governance," America "the polity," politics "soulcraft," underlying the welfare state "an ethic of common provision." You could agree or disagree with Will's "conservatism, properly understood." But there could be a slightly overwrought quality to his copy that sometimes made it hard to figure out what the argument was about.

Two things stand out from a reading of *The Woven Figure: Conservatism and America's Fabric*, Will's ninth book and fifth collection of columns. Conservatism, properly understood, has undergone some notable changes in the Clinton years. And the changes have done wonders for Will's columns.

"Taxophobia" makes a couple of appearances here ("California, although taxophobic . . ."), as also "soulcraft," but with quite a shift in emphasis. Will in his 1983 *Statecraft as Soulcraft*: "If conservatism is to engage itself with the way we live now, it must address government's graver purposes with an affirmative doctrine of the welfare state." *The Woven Figure*: "So the central political problem for conservatives is to get the public to consent to government that censors their desires, refusing to fulfill many of them." *Soulcraft*: "A conservative doctrine of the welfare state is required if conservatives are even to be included in the contemporary political conversation." *Woven Figure*: "Does conservatism have the steely resolve required to tell the country the hard truth about how radically it has gone wrong in its thinking about, and expectations of, government?"

George Will's basic tools are controlled scorn and uncompromising rationality, a devastating combination.

In the last few years Will has moved on to targets worthier of his gifts, as in a column last year after the Inaugural Address: "Clinton's wish was the father of that thought, as it appeared, somewhat hedged, in his Inaugural Address: 'We have resolved for our time a great debate over the role of government.' 'Our time' ends this week."

From a 1994 column after Will had visited a New York ghetto: "In the 1950s, in the name of 'urban renewal,' planners had the lunatic idea of piling up poor people 14 stories deep in apartment blocks built where organic neighborhoods were bulldozed to make room. The result, startling only to planners, is concentrated misery."

From a 1995 piece after the Federal Government closed during a budget impasse: "In Washington's darkest hour since the secession crisis, the government was shut down, a calamity noticed by people who needed new passports."

Will's 1997 RIP to "beat" poet Allen Ginsberg:

> [H]is reward for a career of execrating American values and works was a six-figure contract for a volume of his collected poetry. It is a distinctive American genius, this ability to transmute attempted subversion into a marketable commodity. . . . With a talent that rarely rose to mediocrity, but with a flair for vulgar exhibitionism, Ginsberg shrewdly advertised his persona as a symptom of a dysfunctional society. He died full of honors, including a front-page . . . obituary in the *New York Times*, a symptom to the end.

The Will style is still there, but it strikes one as genuine indignation and not mere pique—particularly that send-off to Ginsberg, the kind of swift and summary thrashing at which Will is unrivaled. None of those self-consciously stately turns of phrase. He doesn't have time for that because he's writing from the gut. He is the rare case of a writer actually improved by anger.

The first Will column I remember reading was a 1983 piece on the "Infant Doe" case in Bloomington, Indiana, in which a baby with Down's Syndrome had been left alone to die in a hospital room. Titled "The Short Life and Long Dying of Infant Doe," it had an eloquence and ferocious integrity that set Will apart in the overstocked pundit market. He may have wandered afield now and then, but he has never lost that. "Pro-abortion extremists object to that name," he writes in a 1997 column on partial-birth abortion, "preferring

Mr. Scully is a writer in Washington, D.C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

'intact dilation and evacuation,' for the same reason the pro-abortion movement prefers to be called 'pro-choice.' What is 'intact' is a baby."

"The barbarism at the prom," Will says of the New Jersey teenager who left her newborn in a trash can,

> is being termed a "tragedy" calling for "compassion" all around. No, an earthquake is a tragedy. This is an act of wickedness—a wicked choice—and a society incapable of anger about it is simply decadent. Perhaps the brevity of the life of Ms. Drexler's son will accelerate the transformation of the nation's vague unrest into a vivid consciousness that today's abortion culture, with its casual creation and destruction of life, is evil.

Will's basic tools are controlled scorn and uncompromising rationality, devastating when he is at his best. Will has always been the clutch hitter of columnists. Whenever some truly grave question arises, he's the man to count on. Then you not only read a Will column—you wait for it.

One does occasionally wish Will would go a little easier on fellow conservatives like Pat Buchanan. In *Soulcraft* Will basically was making a case for ordered liberty and cautioning conservatives against hubris, his great themes from the very beginning. "Choosing an economic system, or choosing substantially to revise significant economic policies," he wrote then, "is a political, which means moral, undertaking." This was followed by his ringing question, "If conservatives do not want to use government power in behalf of their values, why do they waste their time running for office? Have they no value other than hostility to government?" *The Woven Figure*: "The crux of Pat Buchanan's 'conservatism with a heart' . . . is protectionism and other ingredients of what liberals celebrate as 'industrial policy.' . . . Buchanan's protectionism is Washington-knows-best hubris married to coercion."

That, or maybe Will is just tariffophobic. Pat Buchanan, like George Will, believes in using the power of the state for moral ends. Perhaps he is wrong in the particulars, but why is that hubris and not soulcraft?

But these are old quarrels now happily behind us. Indeed the highest tribute to be paid Will is that, as with Buchanan, one might disagree with him here or there but still admire his talent and integrity. Will's gifts, conviction, and good heart were remarkable enough in a

THE FIRST AND ONLY CONSERVATIVE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

"As majestic in its scope as the country it celebrates...

Paul Johnson

Author of A HISTORY OF THE JEWS

A HISTORY of the AMERICAN PEOPLE

"His theme is the men and women, prominent and unknown, whose energy, vision, courage and confidence shaped a great nation...A compelling antidote to those who regard the future with pessimism."
—HENRY KISSINGER

"This is the most pro-American history of the United States to be written in my adult lifetime. Every American who loves his or her country and wants to better understand it should read this book."—NEWT GINGRICH

HarperCollinsPublishers
Also available from HarperCollinsCanadaLtd
http://www.harpercollins.com

A Main History Selection of the History Book Club • A Book-of-the-Month Club Alternate

Coalition of Republican Environmental Advocates

CREA

Coalition of Republican Environmental Advocates

370 17th Street, Suite 4950 • Denver, Colorado 80202
303.454.8000 tel 303.454.8006 fax www.gop4environment.org

Gale A. Norton
National Chairman

Italia Federici
President

The Honorable Newt Gingrich
The Honorable Trent Lott
R. James Nicholson
Patricia S. Harrison

CREA's mission is to foster environmental protection by:

- Promoting community solutions to environmental challenges
- Highlighting Republican environmental accomplishments
- Building on our Republican tradition of conservation

Don't let Al Gore and his liberal friends walk away with this issue!

Find out how you can help.

Call 303-454-8000!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

conservative intellectual fresh from Oxford 25 years ago, back when he was a lowly scribe for *NR*. Even more remarkable is that he still has them. □

Cop Land

JONATHAN FOREMAN

Night Train, by Martin Amis (Harmony, 149 pp., $20)

IN an unnamed "second echelon" American city, a beautiful and brilliant girl named Jennifer is found dead with a gun in her hand and three bullets in her skull. It looks like suicide. But suicide makes no sense: the girl's life was perfect in every way. Her father, a senior police officer called Colonel Tom, asks his protégé, Detective Mike Hoolihan, to look into the case. Hoolihan is a big, tough, forty-something woman (yes, woman) with legs "like road drills on castors." The narrator of the tale, she is also a former alcoholic and a master interrogator. She accepts the case "knowing that it would take me through my personal end-zone and all the way to the other side."

Walking a drunken line between such cliché and genuine brilliance (in an autopsy, "the breastplate comes out like a manhole lid") Martin Amis recounts the investigation for us. It looks like murder, then it doesn't. We meet various characters with comic names like the TV scientist Bax Denziger and the homicide cop Oltan O'Boye. As the leads peter out, Detective Hoolihan is forced to ponder the nature of suicide and the cosmic implications of Jennifer's job as a researcher on black holes. Then the book ends, only 149 pages after it started.

Along the way there are flashes of the masterly wordplay and morbid humor that underlay Amis's early successes. Hoolihan on bodies: "I've seen them all, jumpers, stumpers, dumpers, dunkers, bleeders, floaters, poppers, bursters." Hoolihan on her alcohol problem: "I was a bad drunk too, the worst, like seven terrible dwarves rolled into one and wedged into a leather jacket and tight black jeans: shouty, rowdy, sloppy, sleazy, nasty, weepy, and horny." But these are too few and far between. *Night Train* is a foray into James Ellroy country that goes nowhere fast.

Mr. Amis is by far the most talented and daring English writer of his generation. It helps that he is an aficionado of American literature. He has written extensively about his heroes: Bellow, Roth, Heller, Nabokov, & Company. And more importantly he has tried to write like them: to break out of what he sees as the crabbed, genteel elegance of the English literary novel. With his earlier novels, the results were glorious. The fact that Amis's American characters have always been cartoonish, despite his astonishing virtuosity as a stylist, hasn't mattered because books like *Money* and *Success* were otherwise so brilliant and darkly funny.

Unfortunately, Mr. Amis's new book is set in the United States and is his first detective story. And not just a detective story but a police procedural of the kind perfected by Ed McBain in his series of novels featuring the 87th Precinct. For some reason this foray into genre brings out Mr. Amis's worst flaws.

All of his later books are marred by a compulsion to be seen as a "serious" writer who grapples with profound philosophical themes. (*London Fields* almost sank under the weight of the author's obsession with the inevitability of nuclear war.) Here, by making the dead girl at the center of the story a scientist, he foists on a story far too fragile to carry it a lot of gloomy, half-baked cosmological stuff about the implications of black holes and "dark matter."

But in *Night Train*, Amis's need to be a man of big ideas combines with literary snobbery to form a sloppy and unsatisfying mixture. For he is slumming here and won't let you forget it. The whole book feels rushed and cheap, as if the author believes that crime novels are really just trash for the masses. It is hard to be careless and pretentious at the same time, but in this short novel Amis pulls it off: "Suicide is the Night Train, speeding your way to darkness. You won't get there so quick, not by natural means. You buy your ticket and you climb on board. That ticket costs everything you have. But it's just a one-way. This train takes you into the night and leaves you there. It's the night train." Like, cool. That is, if you've never heard a Bruce Springsteen lyric.

Amis's condescension manifests itself in grotesque inauthenticities. It is not just that he has lost his ear for the rhythms of demotic speech: he actually has the words themselves all wrong.

For example, and this is just one among many howlers, he seems to think that "Beaners" is slang for Italians (rather than Mexicans). One of the lesser themes of *Night Train* is the way that Hollywood has affected the behavior and speech of both cops and criminals. But Amis's cops themselves come right out of TV and not even present-day TV.

It is a curse that can afflict the educated English that they mistakenly believe they know all about America.

They seem to have wandered off the set of *Kojak* or *The Streets of San Francisco*. Sometimes the would-be hard-boiled locutions are so wrong—"Tuesdays I'm working the midnights"—that they sound as if they had been translated into Japanese and back. (It is a curse that can afflict the educated English that they mistakenly believe they know all about America and its patterns of speech. Visitors from the U.S. who watch American plays performed on the London stage are often amazed by the way good English actors mangle "American" accents, blithely running Brooklyn into Texas by way of Chicago.)

The *noir* path beaten by Raymond Chandler has been well trodden by some impressive writers. When Norman Mailer came down it with his extraordinary *An American Dream* he was aware that he was trying his hand at a difficult, demanding genre. And he went to some lengths to make his cops believable. Amis should have known that in works like this, contempt for the "lower" form

Mr. Foreman is a writer in New York.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of art always shows—to the detriment of the artist. The French film director Luc Besson had a go at science fiction, in *The Fifth Element*, after announcing how much he despised the genre, and it was a disaster. Timothy Dalton, an accomplished actor, went slumming as James Bond, and failed miserably. With *Night Train*, Martin Amis joins their company. □

The Church of Luv

GEORGE W. RUTLER

THE author of this book attacking conservative Christianity, himself a prominent ex-conservative, was taught by his mother: "It doesn't matter to God what religion you are. What matters is whether you're a good person." He challenges a "Church of Law" with a non-doctrinaire "Church of Love," the former including "legalists" like Pat Robertson, Ralph Reed, James Dobson, and, by antecedent implication, Moses. They have stolen the authentic Jesus of the Church of Love whose sentinels include Thomas Jefferson, Walter Rauschenbush, and Harry Emerson Fosdick. As for the Pope, "The replies given by Jesus and John Paul II to their questioners could hardly be more different."

Stealing Jesus: How Fundamentalism Betrays Christianity, by Bruce Bawer (Crown, 340 pp., $26)

Catholicism is only an undertow in Bawer's critique of fundamentalists, conservative evangelicals, and charismatics. The argument here is that they are all mostly illegitimate inheritors of the Christian tradition. Who can claim legitimacy in Bawer's view? St. Francis of Assisi comes off well, but if you believe Bawer's account of the saint's allegedly upbeat attitude toward the Saracens, you may also believe that Mary Baker Eddy was a gastroenterologist. There are insightful comments on religion in film and "mall churches," but theological analysis rarely rises above saying that Catholics think good works "win us divine brownie points." Although the author abjures "pre-feminist concepts about the family and sex roles," he sometimes slips: "During the nineteenth century, members of the educated classes, and men of all classes, ceased attending services in droves, leaving behind a church composed mostly of women and the uneducated. To appease those members' sentimental superstitions, the Vatican added new doctrines about the Virgin Mary."

The thesis of *Stealing Jesus* is an antinomian heresy rooted in gnostic dualism about the flesh and spirit. The Nicolaitans carried it to the extreme reading we find here, but they, like their principal echo, Johann Agricola in the sixteenth century, put it better than this Smile Button iconography cobbled together with remnants of nineteenth-century liberal Christology. Bawer tries to warm up the antinomian leftovers in an unplugged microwave.

Bawer tries to warm up the leftovers of nineteenth-century liberal Christology in an unplugged microwave.

While doctrines are only "metaphorical statements" (a statement caricaturing the complex business of what is called *analogia entis*), certain theologians are reliable: principally John Shelby Spong, who calls Bawer "one of this nation's premier religious commentators," and Hans Küng ("perhaps the most distinguished theologian of our time"). On the down side, St. Augustine and other early Fathers gave us at least 1,046 doctrines, of which "only nine concern love." It is also outrageous, I suppose, that not a single clause of the U.S. Constitution concerns oxygen. Praise of the sixteenth-century Anglican divine, Richard Hooker, is well aimed, but for the wrong reason; Bawer seems under the impression that the champion of natural law denied it.

There is a charming naïveté about the author's free treatment of subjects beyond his grasp, but that can be dangerous: like gentrifying Chernobyl. The image does not limp: for all the importance he places on rationality, Bawer was baptized eight years ago in the Episcopal Church, which has lately made meltdown a sacrament. It "views the mind not as a potential instrument of the Devil but as a gift of God," as though it were not both. ". . . of all the major institutional approaches to doctrine that grew out of the Protestant revolt, the Anglican theological method most surely commends itself to those who seek an intellectually solid, broadly inclusive formation for a true Church of Love." Mother Teresa! Why couldn't you have been more like Diana?

Since Bawer expresses indebtedness to "the *Beyond Queer* confraternity and my colleagues on the Sexuality Committee of the (Episcopal) Diocese of New York," he is not likely to be too keen on a literal interpretation of God's views. His own virtual-reality church has "a positive attitude toward God." One gets the impression that John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* is not on Bawer's short list, for it calls law "a barrier against vices and the destroyer thereof." As a higher critic, Bawer makes Norman Mailer sound like St. Jerome: "It was Paul himself who laid the groundwork for the Church of Law." Like Cartesianism according to Voltaire, the Church of Love resembles a novel in that it is delightful and not true.

In the Church of Love patience has its limits: legalistic Christianity "imagines a manifestly evil God and calls that evil good . . . it worships evil." Andrew Jackson "exterminated Indians on Saturday and taught the gospel on Sunday." Pat Buchanan, Cal Thomas, and their sort are "among the most mean-spirited political bullies of our time." Pat Robertson's use of the word "Blitz" as in "Blitzkrieg" is darkly portentous. Bawer seems unaware that Nazi mythology actually has roots in the Jesus-Lite neologism of Harnack and Bosc.

A sad bitterness underlies the softness of the Church of Luv, anxious perhaps that Christ's "If you love me, keep my commandments" may not be an interpolation. The book has intelligent asides, but altogether it merits what the Nobel-laureate physicist Wolfgang Pauli said of a colleague's paper: "This isn't right.

Father Rutler, formerly an Episcopal priest, is now a priest of the (Roman Catholic) Archdiocese of New York. His latest book is A Crisis of Saints *(Ignatius Press).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

This isn't even wrong." Bawer could some day write something about the real Church, if he read St. Francis de Sales's *Treatise on the Love of God*, spent a few days in Lourdes, and quieted down with a good cigar. □

CITY DESK

Submission Chic

RICHARD BROOKHISER

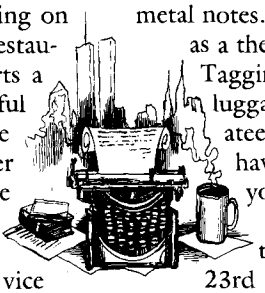
NEW York's most highly charged consensual activity is talking. When *Arguing the World*, the documentary about four New York intellectuals, was showing in the West Village, the line stretched halfway down the block. The previous movie in the same theater had been *O Amor Natural*, a film about Brazilian erotic poetry; when I saw it I shared the dark flickering room with about six people.

But the mating game gets played out here too in all its variations. One of its recently fashionable accouterments is body piercing.

Piercings—nose-, lip-, eyebrowrings; multiple rings curling along the ear's upper rim like the spine of a cheap notebook—have been sported for years by the obviously feral, those who showed up late for the sack of Rome. I looked twice when they began appearing on the innocent. A waitress at a restaurant in my neighborhood sports a nosering. She is not a beautiful girl. She doesn't have to be. She has a freshness she will never have again, and whose value she does not realize. Her unconsciousness is part of the freshness. She is at the age where vice itself loses half its evil by losing all its routine. But there, stapled right on the bull's-eye, is her nosering, like a little keychain, or an old-fashioned pullchain on a watercloset. Questions crowd the mind: Does it get cold in the winter? Does it set off metal detectors? Why would she wear such an ugly thing? I know the obvious answers to the last: 1) like most twenty-year-olds, she thinks she is immortal (I'll always have skin like flower petals; why not stick some metal through it?) and 2) like most twenty-year-olds, or indeed people, she has no taste.

But there is also a taste that leads her on: submission chic. It takes people to places a lot wilder than where she is. In the locker room of my gym, a man, also young, also not otherwise obviously abnormal, revealed as he changed a collection of piercings in his navel, nipples, and, most horribly, his Clinton. The reaction of my fellow bodybuilders—four mesomorphs seated on the locker-room bench like the Budweiser frogs—was agreeably reactionary. "*Whoa!*" they bellowed. "That musta *hurt!*" He smiled politely—he had dived deep, he had trafficked for strange webs with Eastern merchants—and kept dressing.

People pierce for many reasons. Some personalities are so fragile that they do it as self-definition. A bolt marks an edge. Feeling it confirms: This is me, beyond must be not me. Normal people make mental notes; these people make metal notes. For most, it has to be read as a theoretical sign of submission. Tagging is what travelers do to luggage, or scientists do to manatees. If you are tagged, you have submitted, if only to yourself.



There is a lot of submitting going on. A bar on 23rd Street called La Nouvelle Justine has been much written about. Patrons get spanked, have drinks thrown in their faces, get led around on leashes. I have no first-hand testimony to offer. Even though these meek souls want to do it, indeed pay for the privilege—to get a drink thrown in your face will run you twenty dollars—it would be wrong to go there as a gawker. It is true that I have been writing about campaigning politicians since the Carter Administration, but they humiliate themselves unintentionally. Certain performances must not be looked at, out of respect for the men and women enacting them, however much they do to forfeit that respect.

It is getting harder to avert one's eyes. A few seasons before he died Gianni Versace brought out a collection modeled on the fashions of dominatrices. My liberal wife, seeing it in the *Times*, muttered, "I'm joining the Religious Right." More recently, Bass Ale took out a full-page ad in the *New York Observer*, the weekly paper I write for, showing a man licking a stiletto-heeled boot. (The ad also ran on some bus stations and phone booths.) Conceivably the people at Bass thought that after looking at a post-boot tongue you would hanker for a tall cool one. But the more likely reason is that they were hitchhiking on submission chic. The average Bass drinker will not be induced by the ad to seek out the next size 7½.

Piercings are now everywhere in Manhattan. A man in the locker room at my gym sports a pierced Clinton.

But bright, well-paid folk at the agency figured the image would arouse some kind of positive response.

We live in a world of hierarchies: because it recalls our childhoods, when the power and size of our parents was both threatening and comforting; because every day, as adults, we meet people who are stronger, wiser, or better than we are (as well as people who are weaker, dumber, or worse); and because, when we consider the sexes, men and women differ, and in their endless dogfight—or, if you prefer, *pas de deux*—now one, now the other has the upper hand. Hierarchy is natural.

Officially we deny it. All men are created equivalent is our declaration of interdependence. New York is the capital of denial; Washington, D.C., may write the laws, we walk the walk. Horace knew better: Drive nature out with a pitchfork, she will still come hurrying back. When nature returns, it will be in its most primitive, or barbaric forms: beating, prostrating, getting tagged.

What New York does with bars and body jewelry Washington re-enacts with interns. In public, our President is egalitarian, feminist, an upholder of quotas. In private, servants kneel to him. I'll take noserings. □

Mr. Brookhiser is an NR *senior editor.*

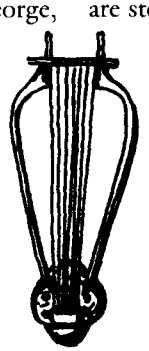
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FILM

Fists, Fires, and Hearts

JOHN SIMON

YOU may think we need no more movies about the troubles in Northern Ireland. Or southern Ireland. And perhaps especially not from Jim Sheridan and Terry George, who have already given us the outstanding *In the Name of the Father* and the deserving *Some Mother's Son*. Well, think again. ***The Boxer*** is a superb piece of work, of the sort Sean O'Casey would have appreciated, perhaps even written. It is a film replete with plot and multiform excitement, but at the center of it is a love story as moving as ever reached out from the screen, and one to which script, direction, acting, and cinematography contributed in equal measure.



Danny Flynn is a Belfast boxer finishing a 14-year jail term for IRA activities. He has not squealed on anyone, but neither has he fraternized with fellow political inmates. He has kept up his boxing exercises as much as possible, but has stopped writing to his girl, Maggie; he wanted to set her free, even though hoping she would nevertheless wait for him. Misunderstanding his silence, she lovelessly married his best friend, who fathered her child, Liam, but is now himself serving a long prison term. Danny now 32, gets out. But into what world, to what life?

You may think we need no more movies about the troubles in Northern Ireland. Or southern Ireland. Think again.

As Terry George and Jim Sheridan wrote and the latter directed it, *The Boxer* does not tell all this right away. Instead, as a glum Danny is leaving, a prison wedding takes place, the bridegroom unhandcuffed just for the ceremony, whereupon the bride returns groomless to the wedding party. Boisterous as it is, a pair of young dancers are sternly separated: the girl is the wife of a prisoner and must abide by the exaggerated abstinence strictly enforced so as to maintain the morale of jailed husbands.

We also encounter Harry, the IRA district leader and chief firebrand, planning another bombing, then heading for a secret meeting with Joe Hamill, the IRA's top man. A tracking shot follows the entrants to the meeting past all sorts of guards to ever more interior rooms, until the final space is reached through a ragged man-sized hole in a wall, susceptible, no doubt, of instant cover-up. Above, throughout the film, the air teams with helicopters, ceaselessly surveying, but concerned only with interfaith clashes; to the Catholics in internecine slaughter, on whom the film focuses, these eyes of heaven are blind.

Danny's release goes unremarked. He checks into a flophouse where he is recognized by his former trainer, Ike Weir, now a drunken bum who proceeds to berate him boozily for having abandoned the ring for politics and jail. Yet the two end up breakfasting together just as one of Harry's bombs goes off in the distance. This despite Joe's order to abstain from violence as talks with the English are progressing hopefully. Danny and Ike resolve to resume their partnership.

But where? The gym of the Holy Family Boxing Club, their former purlieu, has been converted into a community center; group photos of young boxers, now scattered or killed, incongruously bedeck the walls. The place is dusty, ill lit, desolate, harboring ghostly, empty-eyed derelicts. The ring has been dismantled, its components locked away in a hiding place under the stairs. When Danny breaks into it, he finds there also packages of Harry's explo-

(Continues on page 69)

Mr. Simon is NR*'s film critic.*

A New Dimension For Upscale Homes

Since an "Elevette®" provides a new dimension of luxury and practical convenience for upscale home buyers, today's designers usually provide space in their plans for a residential elevator that expresses the unique character of the home and its owners. It fits easily into new construction or renovations and is tax-deductible when doctor recommended. *For free literature,*

CALL TOLL-FREE 1-800-456-1329
or write to:

INCLINATOR COMPANY OF AMERICA®
Dept. 33
PO Box 1557
Harrisburg, PA 17105-1557

The Ultimate in political humor T-Shirts

THE REAL CLINTON LEGACY!
Whitewatergator,Heavensgators &Tailgators T's
All 3 T-Shirts are 2 sided brilliant color heavy cotton T's.
Very incorrect, yet tastefully fun.
Only $14.95 plus Tax.

(Fl Res. add 6% tax) Add $5.95 S&H to order with MC, VISA, AMEX, or Money Order.
Call 888-728-9326 or visit our website at,
www.worldclassstudios.com / jiff /fun.html

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

Educational Opportunities

THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION that is biblical, classical, Reformed, and scholarly. M.Div., M.Rel., M.A., D.Min. Knox Theological Seminary, Fort Lauderdale and Colorado Springs. Call 800-344-5669 for more information.

Hotels

HOTEL Bedford

Your Key To New York

118 E. 40th Street, New York, NY 10016

Between Park and Lexington Avenues...on Manhattan's fashionable East Side. Ideally located for business, Fifth Avenue Shops, Entertainment and Fine Dining.

Special National Review Rates

Reservations: 800-221-6881 (USA & Canada)
FAX (212) 697-1093

Websites

ASSET PROTECTION, OFFSHORE HAVENS, Swiss annuities and much more at http://www.cyberhaven.com/

Contests

101 NATIONAL CORPORATION-SPONSORED SWEEPSTAKES! Complete entry information, $6. R. McDonald, 305 E. Bay #1, Balboa, Calif. 92661.

Literary

"Lincoln Speaks" Letters, Speeches, Essays
A limited collector's edition anthology.
Special printing limited to 1000 numbered copies.
$19.95 includes postage, handling, and our full guarantee. We will refund your full purchase price by return mail if you are unsatisfied for any reason. $19.95 payable to: Mediability, 1810 Summit Pointe Way, Atlanta, GA 30329, ph 404 320-0303

THERE WAS MORE TO IT than told. Learn the intent/philosphies underlying the documents of VCII. A "MUST-READ" to understand today's crisis. *In the Murky Waters of Vatican II*, Atila Guimarães. $20, TRADITION IN ACTION, Box 227414, Dallas, Tex. 75222-7414.

DO YOU HAVE A BOOK TO PUBLISH?
Pentland Press, Inc.
USA • ENGLAND • SCOTLAND
Send manuscript for evaluation. Co-operative publisher can arrange the editing, design, publication, promotion, warehousing and distribution of your book.
5124 Bur Oak Circle, Raleigh, NC 27612
1-800-948-2786

MARTIAL LAW IN THE U.S. by August 1999? Secret 1997 government 150-page report provides details, maps, dates, etc. Get your copy today. $20—includes free bonus report. Cash or check to: PMG, 15608 N. Pima, Box B11-112, Scottsdale, Ariz. 85260. MC/Visa call: 970-872-8404.

NEW AUTHORS
PUBLISH YOUR WORK
All subjects considered:
Fiction, Biography, Poetry, Religion, Children's
AUTHORS WORLDWIDE INVITED
Write, or send your manuscript to:
MINERVA PRESS
2 OLD BROMPTON ROAD, LONDON SW7 3DQ, ENGLAND

UNRAVEL A MYSTERY! Armchair Detectives call for free catalogue of vintage to 70s mystery books. E-mail: hil@mindspring.com or phone: 717-532-8213.

GOOD USED BOOKS—wide variety, intelligent selection. Libraries buy regularly; you can too. History, fiction, social science, literature, miscellaneous subjects. Send $2 for listings of 25,000 titles. Editions, Desk NR, Boiceville, N.Y. 12412. www.nleditions.com

NONFICTION PAPERBACK: *Up From Total Quality Management*. 800-882-3273.

Business Opportunities

FRANCHISE YOUR BUSINESS. Lowest prices, best results. WWW.FranchisesThatSell.Com 800-365-4189.

FAMOUS MILLIONAIRE-MAKER reveals exciting way to earn $50-150K/year from home! 24-hour message. 216-491-2115.

CAREER BURNOUT? Home health business, serious income. Free information: 800-925-2494.

Religion

CATHOLICS. DEFEND YOUR FAITH using scripture alone! Send for "Our Catholic Faith in Scripture," $12.95. 888-743-3781.

LOOKING FOR A CHURCH that still teaches traditional values? Call the Anglican Catholic Church Information Center. 800-506-7616.

T-Shirts & Bumper Stickers

"NIXON WAS FRAMED": Bumper stickers, $4 each, 2–5/$3.50 each, 6+/$3 each. Carl Edling, The Blatant Truth, P. O. Box 984, Sumner, Wash. 98390.

"CHARACTER MATTERS": Bumper sticker with a clear, timely message. $3 or 4/$10. Check/MO: SlickerStickers, 2440 Home Acre Dr., Columbus, Ohio 43231.

"SELF-WILL RUN RIOT"—What is it? Get free bumper stickers concerning political sobriety. Dave Polewka, Box 3652, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27515-3652.

For Sale

FOR SALE: www.BillClinton.com! The perfect way to tell or hear the latest scandal news! Call Marc at 714-536-7705 for details.

SEIZED CARS FROM $175. Porsches, Cadillacs, Chevys, BMWs, Corvettes. Also Jeeps, 4WDs. Your area. Toll Free: 800-218-9000, Ext. A-3013 for current listings.

IMPEACHMENT SALE! Clinton Bobbing Head Dolls—very limited quantity remaining! $12.99 + s&h. 714-536-7705.

Real Estate

GOV'T FORECLOSED HOMES for pennies on the $1. Delinquent Tax, Repos, REOs. Your Area. Toll Free: 800-218-9000, Ext. H-3013 for current listings.

Financial

FREE CASH GRANTS! College. Scholarships. Business. Medical bills. Never Repay. Toll Free: 800-218-9000, Ext. G-3013.

Personal

MOTORCYCLE RIDER, 55+, East Coast to West and back, summer of '98. Looking for same. 610-259-3798.

Friendship, Etc.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS, linked nationally since 1970. P. O. Box 117, Gradyville, Pa. 19039. 800-773-3437 or sbl@compuserve.com

BRITISH LADIES & GENTLEMEN seek romance & marriage with Americans—all ages! English Rose Introductions—Tel: 011-44-1843-863322/Fax: 011-44-1843-863346 (24 hrs.)!

ASIAN BEAUTIES! Worldwide! Romance, Lifemates! P.I.C., Box 461873-NR, Los Angeles, Calif. 90046. 213-650-1994.

CLASSICAL MUSIC LOVERS' EXCHANGE ® for unattached music lovers. Nationwide. P. O. Box 31, Pelham, N.Y. 10803. 800-233-CMLS.

MEET WOMEN WORLDWIDE FOR LOVE AND MARRIAGE. World's #1 Correspondence Service since 1974! Complimentary 32-page photo magazine: Cherry Blossoms, P. O. Box 190-NR, Kapaau, Hawaii 96755. 800-322-3267 (Ext. 48). And at: www.blossoms.com/ad48.html cherry@blossoms.com.

ASIAN WOMEN Desire Marriage! Established 1984! Free Photobrochure! SUNSHINE INTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDENCE, P. O. Box 5500-FH, Kailua-Kona, Hawaii 96745-5500. 808-325-7707. http://sunshine-girls.com

RUSSIAN LADIES, truly beautiful, educated, seek romance! Exciting tours, videos. Free color photocatalog. Euro206, P. O. Box 888851, Atlanta, Ga. 30356. 770-458-0909.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CORRESPOND WITH SINCERE, EDUCATED SINGLES WORLDWIDE! Scanna International, P. O. Box 671927, Dept. NR, Marietta, Georgia 30006. 770-579-4702. On the Web: http://www.scanna.com

JAPANESE WOMEN! 110 Pacific, #208JW, San Francisco, Calif. 94111. 816-942-1668.

NR REPRINTS AVAILABLE

"The War On Drugs Is Lost" ($1.70)
"NR's 40th Anniversary Issue" ($2.95)
"The Real Reagan Record" ($2.95)
"To Be a Pilgrim—WFB's Visit to Lourdes" ($1)
"The 100 Best Conservative Movies" ($1.50)
"Health Care: Second Opinions" ($2)
(Please add $5 per order for shipping and handling.)
Bulk prices available for all upon request.
Send to:
NATIONAL REVIEW
150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016
Specify selection.

CLASSIFIED INFORMATION

Rates: $4.50 per word (10-word minimum). Phone number, zip code, all permitted abbreviations (P. O. Box, S.A.S.E., etc.) count as one word.

Discounts: 4 times, $4.00 per word; 6 times, $3.75 per word; 8 or more times, $3.50 per word.

Display Ads: Minimum 1-inch, maximum 9 inches (vertical). Width 2 1/4 inches. One time, $225 per column inch; 4 times, $200 per column inch; 8 times, $185 per column inch; 10 or more times, $175 per column inch. Camera-ready art (to size) must be provided. Display rates apply to Classified section only.

NR Box Numbers: $10 additional (one-time only charge). When responding to an NR Box number, Address: NR Box _____, c/o Tony Savage, *NATIONAL REVIEW*, 215 Lexington Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016. Letters will be forwarded by 1st class mail.

To Order: Full payment in advance by check, money order (payable to *NATIONAL REVIEW*), MasterCard, or Visa (include expiration date). Address: Tony Savage, *NATIONAL REVIEW*, 215 Lexington Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016. FAX: 212-696-0340. Tel. 212-679-7330

Deadlines: Every other Tuesday (approx. 16 days before the magazine is printed). Upcoming deadlines: March 3rd, 17th, & 31st; April 14th & 28th.

Restrictions: *NR* may reject any copy deemed unsuitable for whatever reason, without comment. Such rejections are almost always based on our interpretation of common decency and good taste. Partisan political viewpoints expressed in connection with specific goods or services are the sole responsibility of the advertiser, and are not necessarily a reflection of *NR*'s editorial position. We do not accept ads for 900 numbers, and there are no agency commissions for the classifieds.

SIMON

(Continued from page 67)

sives, which he disgustedly dumps in the river.

Dinginess permeates the hall, somberly captured by the amazing camera of Chris Menges. A gifted film director in his own right, he has been the cameraman on such films as *The Killing Fields*, *Local Hero*, and *Michael Collins*; he has proved his ability with subjects requiring newsreel-like realism and has wrestled stark beauty from war, jungles, poverty, even grime. All picturesqueness, however, is strictly avoided.

The gym, which Danny and Ike resuscitate and make nonsectarian, open to Catholics, Protestants, and all needy children, takes on an extraordinary life thanks to Menges's lens. The prevailing color is an aqueous greenish blue, its quasi-aquatic denizens almost more piscine than human. In this glaucous and livid ambience, Danny trains frantically under Ike's supervision, but also under the hostile glances of Harry and others of his hotheaded persuasion.

The Boxer now artfully interweaves its threefold story line. There is Danny's budding boxing career, examined in naturalistic detail, but with a climax that, though stunning, is too noble for its own good. There are the political seesawings, as Harry's warmongering clashes with Joe's maneuvering for a viable peace. Joe, the savvy, prison-tempered leader, is Maggie's widowed father. The young woman is now a schoolteacher, Liam's caring mom, and, yes, still in love with Danny, as he is with her. Slowly, with almost excruciating sobriety, these two restart their former romance against every handicap: the iron-clad rules for prisoners' wives, the censorious interference of menacing busybodies, the shocked and angry spying of young Liam, who suspects his mother of preparing to abandon him and run off to England with Danny.

Out of these elements, the film makes a complex yet cohesive tapestry. The progress of the love affair through infinitesimal increments—ambiguous glances, seemingly noncommittal salutations, furtive meetings that become gradually more defiant, dialogue that is impulsive, heartfelt, and pristinely free of cliché—is one of the rare triumphs of recent cinema. What makes this offhanded, awkward rapprochement so moving is, finally, the flawless acting of two magnificent performers.

Daniel Day-Lewis trained for nearly three years to make his boxing scenes absolutely professional, and they are equally impeccably directed and photographed. But it is in his shy, fumbling, circuitous approaches to a full-scale declaration of love that the actor scores with disciplined passion. His face and body become transparent as we watch ill-suppressed tremors eddy up into shame-faced half-smiles; hear his voice, with its accumulating retards, become more and more implication-laden, pleading for reciprocal corroboration. A man who, as he says, made a soothing compact with silence in his prison cell, is groping toward communication as his set features falter into tenderness.

No less amazing is the Maggie of Emily Watson. Her responses to Danny's return, public scrutiny, paternal warnings, and filial resentment are calibrated with a fineness of feeling whose evolution is scarcely more perceptible than the growth of a plant. Still, there it is, in expressions both inchoate and ambivalent, yet subtly evolving through stages of pretended indifference, guarded politesse, muted encouragement, and crumbling self-restraint. Through tiny bursts of complicity, a huge, dormant passion inches its way toward incandescence. You are sucked into the rapture these actors generate.

Here again Menges's camera rises to the occasion. Interiors have the burnished look of sparsely lighted rooms, but with faces radiating self-engendered wattage, becoming themselves ruddy and intense sources of illumination. Again, a walk on an empty beach, where the love relation reasserts itself, is a-glimmer with grey-greens clamoring for the fuller palette of passion, soon to be released. Just so in the ring during a fight, the bleached-out glare bursts into crimson with the blood from Danny's battered face. And I haven't even mentioned the cunningly insinuating music of Gavin Friday and Maurice Seezer, or the great supporting performances of Ken Stott (Ike), Brian Cox (Joe), and several others. All good reasons not to miss *The Boxer*. □

98 languages!

Yes, we have self-instructional audio-cassette courses in languages from Afrikaans to Zulu and everything in between. Short courses and long courses. Easy and in-depth. We have been serving language learners for 27 years. Call or write for our free 52-page *Whole World Language Catalog.*

AUDIO-FORUM®
THE LANGUAGE SOURCE

Room C314, 96 Broad Street
Guilford, Connecticut 06437
1-888-773-2548, fax: (203) 453-9774
e-mail: 74537.550@compuserve.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ON THE RIGHT / Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

Iraq Talk

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 10

On the Iraq question, here is the consensus of a privately consulted, civilized fraternity.

1. The threat from Iraq is intrinsically there, and dangerous. It is safe to assume that Saddam has been carrying further the chemical (and perhaps biological) weapons he used against the Kurds early in the decade. Which is to say, he is arming himself with devastating weapons, and we are being warned of the awful lengths science has taken us to.

2. What would Saddam do if there were no interruption in his development of these weapons? Assume Day X has arrived and he has demonstrated the effect of his weapons in the style of our demonstration of the atom bomb's strength at Alamogordo in 1945. One doubts he would use the weapons even against Israel, inasmuch as the deterrent (nuclear retaliation) speaks its own language. What the biological weapon would do is make a regional superpower of Saddam, a prospect very agreeable to him.

3. As a matter of UN policy, we have an interest in preventing the development of such weapons, and this extends to a willingness to exert force to keep this from happening. The orthodox weapons available to us haven't proved successful. What Saddam most desperately wants is an end to the oil embargo imposed after the Gulf War. There is no prospect of an end to the embargo under existing circumstances: Saddam has done nothing either to redeem the bloody record of his rule, or to ingratiate himself as a newborn member of the Arab community. Inasmuch as he has no intention of undertaking reform, we prudently assume that he will continue his chemical weapons development until prevented.

4. To undertake an interdiction of this development is not possible from the air. Even if we were lucky enough to target all three (eight? twenty?) of the underground laboratories in which the work is being done, at best we'd have achieved a delay. There is no way to identify and eliminate the twenty (fifty? one hundred?) scientists who are the sorcerer's mad apprentices, and no way to prevent the raw materials from insinuating their way through such a blockade as now exists. The only way to prevent a continuation of the program is to wield effective government power from within Iraq.

5. It is not only tempting but gratifying to impose damage, when justified, of a punitive character. On the old theory of Nemo me impune lacessit (Nobody transgress upon me unpunished), we can tell Saddam that he has gone too far. How can we hurt him? Well, he has over 45 palaces, one of them just completed; it would be a chore to rebuild these, but there would of course be corollary sacrifices. These would be in human lives lost (the people who maintain the palaces) and architectural landmarks destroyed. An effort could be made to isolate special concentrations of military strength, though one assumes that some time before the bombers arrived, dispersal would have been ordered. But what is contemplated is nothing more than a magnification of the famous pinprick of 1996. Nothing came of it.

6. There are attendant losses to weigh. They include the popular vision of the superpower resisted, deflated, and humbled. The kind of thing that happened to the United States in Vietnam. There is a marked historical tendency to take satisfaction from the little man who resists the big man, never mind the reasons for the confrontation. Such a consolidation of Arab sentiment would specifically focus on Israel, that being the theater where the United States is most directly concerned. The battering could plausibly strengthen the internal hand of Saddam, if he emerged as the defiant defender of Iraqi sovereignty.

7. If that were to happen it would discourage whatever prospects there are for the opposition through the Iraq National Congress, active mostly in the north. Efforts to bring on a political transformation of Iraq depend heavily on energizing the opposition. This will require very active work by friendly intelligence operators in the region and require, also, certain cautious approaches to Iran, which has a very heavy score to settle against Saddam and presumably feels some concern over the development of decisive weapons by a country with which it shares a very long border.

"He used to be into Buddha like the rest of us, but now he's into Ayn Rand."

8. Given these considerations, our recommendation is that on the military front we do: Nothing. Not easy to do nothing, under the impulses of military momentum. But we do have a Commander-in-Chief who can call it off, and should do so. Unless, of course, he knows something we don't know. Unlikely. □

The Plight Of The Friends of Bill

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 6

The Friends of Bill are having a very difficult time as, week after week, more facts are assembled and more unhappy reports circulate. One commentator, minutes before the President began his press conference with Great Britain's Prime Minister, Tony Blair, made a point having to do with the vagueness of Mr. Clinton's demurral. He contrasted it to the statement by Betty Currie's lawyer. It was unambiguous on the only relevant question: namely, had she been instructed to coax, plead, demand that Miss Lewinsky hide the truth. Answer? No. All the President has said is that he has not had sexual relations with Miss Lewinsky and that he has always counseled telling the truth. Given that Mr. Clinton has over and over again not told the truth, he is speaking to a skeptical congregation. What he might have said, imitating the directness of Mrs. Currie's lawyer, was: "I have never engaged in activity with Miss Lewinsky that I would wish to conceal from anyone. My staff is preparing a description of what she did in the 37 visits she paid to the White House."

It was sad for Tony Blair. Granted, he is greatly experienced in the arts and stratagems of polemic. He was asked (the first question) whether he didn't believe that the people of Great Britain and the people of the United States expected high levels of personal conduct from their leaders. Answer? The people of Great Britain and the United States expect us to focus on those issues they elected us to address . . . Iraq . . . Ireland . . . the economy. Off we go. If ever there was a demonstration of what it is that the voters want, it was given at the White House. The press can reliably be thought of as reflecting the curiosity of the people. Those

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

who wish to go on to venture that the people's curiosity is misbegotten are free to do so. But it is patronizing and unrealistic to say that people who are tuned in to the Sports Channel should be tuned in to the Discovery Channel.

The Friends of Bill have the problem that as they batten down, their defenses tend to shrink. Two weeks ago there were questions touching on Monica Lewinsky, on her hot-line mate Linda Tripp, on the itineraries of Miss Lewinsky and Vernon Jordan and Bill Richardson . . . all of that whittles down and down. At the press conference Mr. Clinton even had to abandon Hillary's illumination, that the whole thing is a right-wing conspiracy. The lawyers have a term, pleading in the alternative. It goes like this: I didn't sleep with the girl, besides which I never met her, besides which I don't have a key to her apartment, besides which I was in Dayton that night. Mr. Clinton's defenses rest now on such matters as that Mrs. Currie continues to serve "ten feet away" from him as his secretary. How could that be imagined if she believes the President abused his trust?

There is a factor working for Mr. Clinton that one or two Friends of Bill have permitted themselves, in oral conversations, to voice. It is the thought that crossed quite a few prosecutorial minds in Washington up until, in October 1973, Spiro Agnew resigned his office as Vice President. Some who were anxious to replace President Nixon had to contemplate a President Agnew. The thought to many was quite simply unbearable.

The thought of a President Gore is for some unbearable, those who believe that on some subjects he is more the evangelist than the analyst. But there is the political factor that does not escape the attention of politically minded people. It is that in the year 2000, a race against a President Gore, in office since 1998 with a blameless private life and entitled to another term in office, would be much worse to contemplate than a race against Candidate Gore to replace lame duck Bill Clinton, whose private life requires television filters to protect children. Some people are saying to themselves: Yes, Mr. Clinton deserves to be removed, but, No, don't remove him inasmuch as to do so means to upset the country and derail Republican plans for the future.

So that the Friends of Bill have to accept help where they can find it. "I think the actions of [Clinton's] adversaries are really dirty," Fidel Castro said as a part of a four-hour speech. Adding, "It's a real example of the things that occur in that country, of the lack of ethics." Perhaps Mr. Clinton in the days ahead will persuade Fidel Castro to appear as a character witness. □

Miss Tucker's Plea

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 3

On the matter of the late Karla Faye Tucker, a few observations:

1. Introducing the matter of her sex was convenient for those who are as much opposed to capital punishment when inflicted on a man but could, in the case of Miss Tucker, profit from the ancient, not to say hoary, appeal to chivalry. Texas' not having executed a woman since the Civil War, even though about 10 per cent of homicides are committed by women, tells the story of a quite understandable reluctance to execute women. But the revival of the idea of special protection contends against the tidal wave of equality. At its most graphic, a woman can in modern times command a fighter plane and shoot down civilians on a roadway, but if she pickaxes to death her mother-in-law, she is supposed to be immune because of the feminine immunity. Bonnie No, Clyde Sí.

Those who resist the total modernization of women and who persist in arguing that women soldiers should not be given front-line duty are better off arguing for state laws that automatically commute death sentences for women to life in jail. There are 47 women on death row. It is terribly taxing to anticipate that in behalf of one after another we'll hear pleas based, in fact, on their sex. If the laws want to incorporate special protection for women, let them do so.

2. Amnesty International has been everywhere on the matter of Miss Tucker. I have high esteem for Amnesty International, on whose board I briefly served. Briefly because the organization, led by its London component, came out against capital punishment in 1978. I made the point that an organization designed to help prisoners of conscience has no business getting into the arguments over capital punishment. It is one thing to encourage popular support for men and women persecuted because of their beliefs, quite another to get into the question whether the State of Texas should execute a convict who has taken other lives. Moreover it damages the credibility of Amnesty International. Seventy per cent of the American people favor capital punishment, and some have trouble, when solicited by Amnesty, in extending support. Is this contribution to be used to generate sympathy for a democrat in jail in Havana, or is it going to be used to promote opposition to the execution of Karla Faye Tucker?

3. The heaviest oar in the proceedings was pulled by the Vatican. The Pope sent a message asking President Clinton to intercede for mercy. The Pope's intervention was not discriminatory in nature; Pat Robertson also interceded, but did so on the special grounds that Miss Tucker became a Christian convert and, for most of her 16 years in jail, lived by her faith, did so convincingly, and said that if she were to die, she would accept the decision as the will of God. It is certainly wrong to be skeptical about the sincerity of religious conversions by murderers. The mythogenic trial of Leopold and Loeb in 1924 ended up testing this skepticism. Both young men were sentenced to life plus life, the court guaranteeing that if they were spared the death penalty, Illinois would keep them forever in jail. Loeb died in jail at thirty. Leopold finally prevailed, promising, if released, that he would spend his life in missionary work in Puerto Rico. It was relevant to base commutation on his conversion from undergraduate murderer to senior-citizen missionary in the field. Nobody was proposing that Miss Tucker be sent out as an evangelist.

Meanwhile, the Pope's intervention was categorical. Whatever the specific language, the Pope simply opposes capital punishment, as did his two predecessors.

It is widely supposed that American Catholics are bound by papal judgments in the matter. They are not. A faithful Catholic is bound to ponder the advice of a Pope but to obey his own conscience. Obedience to the Pope is only for those of his commands that come down with doctrinal imprimatur, and how to deal with a woman who axed bloodily to death two innocent people is not of that character.

The support for capital punishment is given by a society in which murder is rampant. The eternal argument is over the question: Does capital punishment deter? Answer: If it is conceivable that it does deter, then by executing such as Karla Faye Tucker, the law may be protecting the life of an innocent person whose murder was contemplated but not effected—by someone taking in the proceedings in the Tucker case. A final argument (my own, and others') is that capital punishment is the redemption of a contract society owes to all human beings: to protect them and to guard posthumously their dignity, by taking the life of those who took their lives. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

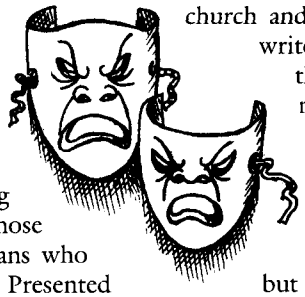
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE MISANTHROPE'S CORNER

FLORENCE KING

THE Karla Faye Tucker case was a defeat for conservatives, the latest example of the many-splintered thing our movement has become and more proof that our ranks are heavy with people who either cannot or will not think.

On the clemency side was the Christian Right, who wanted to save her because she had found God. On the execution side were the Law 'n' Orders who wanted to kill her because they "believe in capital punishment" period-paragraph, and the populist yahoos who chanted "Use a pickax!" outside the death house. But this was only the official scorecard. To fully understand conservative thinking we must consult the Tacits, those fearless mainstream Republicans who never say what they think. Presented with a white woman on death row, the clemency Tacits wanted to save her because she was a woman but were afraid of being called sexists, while the execution Tacits wanted to kill her to prove they weren't racists.



We could have extracted a political benefit from the case if we had approached it not as a controversy with sides, but as a chess problem with moves: the clemency move or the execution move? My own views on capital punishment are nothing less than bloodthirsty, but as soon as I started thinking like a chess player everything changed.

The clemency move would have checkmated feminists with a double standard of death and handed conservatives a valuable fait accompli in the debate over women in combat. But the execution move checkmated conservatives with an equal right to die and handed feminists a government-sanctioned "body bag."

Unfortunately for Karla Faye Tucker, thinking like a chess player takes time and concentration, always at a premium in America and even scarcer than usual during the last week of her life. Had we not been so obsessed with Monicagate we could have concentrated on Karla Faye, but timing, as they say, is everything.

Ideally, an ax murderess should be a pillar of the church *before* the fact, like Lizzie Borden, but we can't have everything to our taste. On the matter of Karla Faye's religious conversion, I was of two minds. I was leery of her Born Againism purely on aesthetic grounds because I oppose the separation of church and stateliness. Unbelieving writers nearly always harbor this high-church tic. As my fellow agnostic, H. L. Mencken, put it: "One might easily imagine an intelligent man yielding himself to the voluptuous Roman lure but there is surely nothing to seduce him in Protestantism. . . . The news that a poet had been converted to Presbyterianism would be first-page stuff anywhere."

Faith, hope, and snobbery aside, I believe Karla Faye's conversion was sincere, in part because the Born Again stance is so exhausting that no one could fake it for very long. Remember, she was Saved in 1985 and spent 12 years witnessing, praising, and thumping, not to mention perfecting the Pat Robertson art of smiling, laughing, and talking all at the same time. "Protestantism," said Mencken, "converts the gentle and despairing Jesus into a YMCA secretary, brisk, gladsome, and obscene." Without the lube job of sincerity working in mysterious ways she would have dislocated her jawbone.

Her conversion could have won her much more general sympathy if only Robertson & Company had been willing and able to take it beyond its strictly Christian meaning. Savvy conservative supporters could have connected it to the magic word that has always underpinned the American Dream and now drives Bill Clinton's politics and the self-help industry: change. Pull Yourself Up by Your Bootstraps; Go West, Young Man; Don't Stop Thinking about Tomorrow; Ten Ways to a New You! are all secular versions of being Born Again that are calculated to make Americans' identification juices flow.

Her irreparable mistake was boasting that she had orgasms while killing. A woman can get away with murder or she can get away with sex, but if she tries to get away with both she collides with the male idée fixe that Tacitus articulated when he wrote: "A woman who has lost her chastity will shrink from no crime." Monica Lewinsky is now bearing the brunt of this on the lesser levels of perjury and obstruction of justice, but did it describe Karla Faye? True, she was a prostitute, but the orgasm claim was surely a lie.

THE murder occurred in 1983 when the multiple-orgasm craze was going full-tilt, when it was impossible to turn on the TV without hearing feminists talking about the female's "superior capacity," or read *Cosmopolitan* without finding an article on the mighty G-spot. I would bet anything that enough of this pop carnality filtered through to Karla Faye to inspire the trendy lie that sealed her doom.

The fresh-faced sexual desirability of her last days thrust feminist columnists into one of those guarded situations when everyone knows everyone is thinking the same thing. Judging from the tension that crept into their prose, they knew men were thinking what men know women know they think whenever they see a pretty nun, a pretty lesbian, or a pretty condemned prisoner: "What a waste!"

I was taken by her looks, perhaps because she fit one of my favorite lost words: "winsome." Believers attributed her physical metamorphosis to the glow of salvation but it's more likely that it came from the regularity of prison life and the first normal routine she had ever known. Alarm clocks and mealtimes are next to godliness.

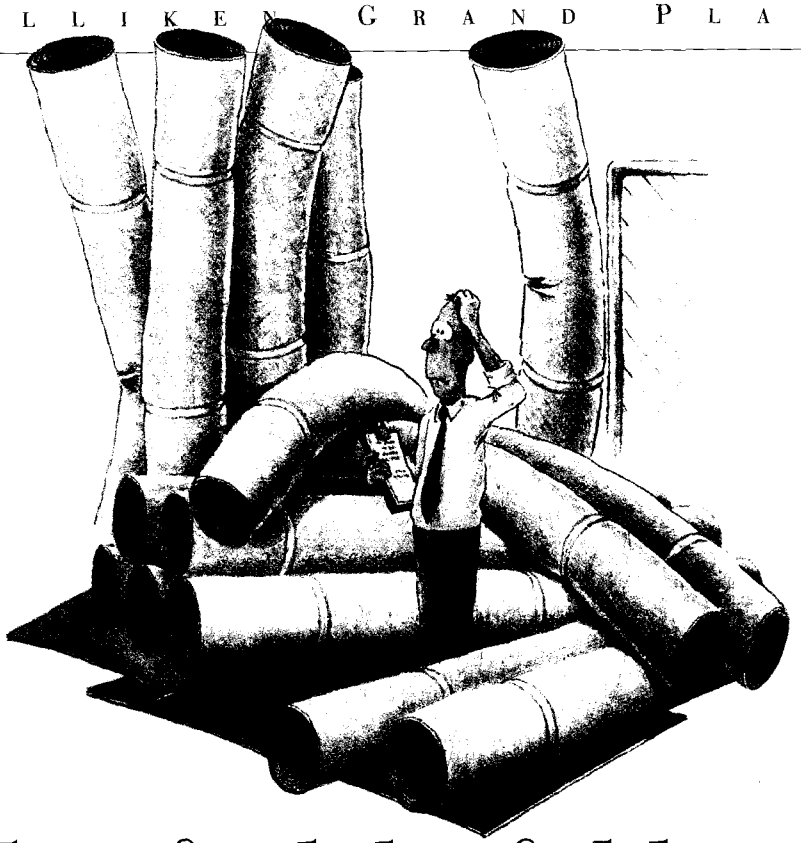
She reminded me of a girl in high school who was always volunteering to wash the blackboards, beat the erasers, empty the pencil sharpener, fill the inkwells, and water the plants, earning the teachers' affection and straight A's in "citizenship" to balance her dismal academic record. At first I despised her because she was so "sweet," but then I discovered she really was sweet.

So, finally, was Karla Faye. May she rest in peace. □

Miss King is the author of The Florence King Reader *and other books.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MILLIKEN GRAND PLAZA



Quick—find the field pattern for the Mediterranean Room.

The clock is ticking. In less than an hour, you've got to locate the right carpet pattern, get some of it over to the right room, and fix a nasty hole the caterers just made. All before tonight's conference begins.

If you have broadloom, you know it's a disaster waiting to happen. The answer? A 36-inch square cushioned carpet called Grand Plaza®.

Grand Plaza is the last step in carpet evolution. It's the best of broadloom and modular—with none of the drawbacks.

Because Grand Plaza is modular, it arrives on pallets. Pallets that easily fit onto forklifts or elevators. Pallets that are a breeze to store and access later.

Maybe that's why Grand Plaza is taking its place among the world's most discriminating hotels, casinos and public spaces.

Hilton Hawaiian Village, Waikiki, Hawaii

GRAND® PLAZA

Protect your carpet investment with MilliCare® Environmental Services™

Natural selection at its best.

Milliken Carpet

United States Japan United Kingdom

www.millikencarpet.com

If you'd like to know more about Grand Plaza, call 1-800-241-4826, ext. 8716, and we'll send you your free Hospitality Package.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE BOMBAY SAPPHIRE MARTINI. A[illegible]NDRÉE PUTMAN.

POUR SOMETHING PRICELESS.

100% neutral spirits. ©1997 Carillon Importers LTD., Fort Lee, NJ. ©Design Andrée Putman, by Baccarat 1997

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED